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European Jewry Ten Years After The War

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AN ACCOUNT OF THE DEVELOPMENT AND PRESENT STATUS OF THE DECIMATED JEWISH COMMUNITIES OF EUROPE

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NEW YORK
INSTITUTE OF JEWISH AFFAIRS
OF THE WORLD JEWISH CONGRESS
1956

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PREFACE

This volume, prepared and published under my direction, is in a sense a companion volume to the Institute publication *Hitler's Ten Year War on the Jews* published in 1943, which has remained to this day a standard work in this field: it deals with practically the same nations and its aim is to show what happened to the Jews in those countries over which the Nazis had extended their rule between 1933 and 1945.

The present volume is intended, mainly, for readers who are not experts on a particular country or region and are interested in the facts rather than in source material.

Although the volume is dedicated to the postwar period, some information on the period before that time is given. Frequently, it would be difficult to understand the present era without this information.

The authors of the various articles had to submit to certain common rules of presentation. However, no attempt was made to put them in a straight jacket of total uniformity. This would undoubtedly have led to a greater uniformity of the articles but would have destroyed the individuality of the studies. Furthermore, the background, the history, and the development in the various countries differ so much that total uniformity could not be achieved anyhow.

A short summary of the development and the present situation in the whole of the countries concerned is to be found in my Postscript at the end of the volume.

The articles are grouped in accordance with the present situation of the respective Jewish communities.

As said, the articles were written by various hands. Julius

Fisher wrote on Rumania and Hungary; Gerhard Jacoby on Germany; Oskar Karbach on Austria, Bulgaria, Greece, and Italy; Max Katzenelenbogen (Brussels) on Belgium; Jacob Lestschinsky on Poland; Arnold Mandel (Paris) on France; Gerhard Polak (Amsterdam) on Holland; Robert Serebrenik (formerly Chief Rabbi of Luxembourg) on Luxembourg; Saul Sokal on Czechoslovakia, and Pinchas Wellner (Copenhagen) on Denmark. Maximilian Hurwitz translated the articles on France, Poland, Denmark, and Belgium and edited the rest of the studies.

I wish to express my gratitude to Dr. Kurt Wehle and Mr. Fritz Becker for material and help in connection with the preparation of the studies on Czechoslovakia and Italy, respectively; to Dr. Albert Vajs, whose articles on Yugoslav Jewry, published in *Jevrejski Almanah* 1954, was extensively used in preparing the study on Yugoslavia, and to Anatole Goldstein for general advice and assistance.

NEHEMIAH ROBINSON

December, 1955

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I

IRON CURTAIN COMMUNITIES

POLAND • RUMANIA • HUNGARY

CZECHOSLOVAKIA • BULGARIA

POLAND

A. Introductory

It is impossible to understand Jewish life in Communist Poland without taking into consideraton pre-war Polish Jewry.

It is one of the enigmatic phenomena of community life that accumulated spiritual energy continues to be effective although most of its physical bearers have disappeared. This enigma stands out vividly in the case of the present Jewish community of some 50,000 in Poland. The bearers of religious and national culture perished in the Great Catastrophe, or else fled Communist Poland, but the activity of the small Jewry which remains greatly exceeds that of other communities of the same or even larger size. In the present case the former atmosphere, as it were, exerts an influence. A contributing factor is that in Poland everyone, including the representatives of the present regime, is accustomed to look upon the Jewish community as an ethnic body entitled to develop in national forms.

Let us dwell briefly on the uniqueness of the Polish Jewish community in relation to national and religious culture. In 1939, Poland contained about 3,250,000 Jews. With respect to creativity in the sphere of religious and national culture in all forms and shades, Polish Jewry was far above any other Jewish community. In fact, until 1939 Poland was the spiritual and religious center of world Jewry.

Here are a few facts that will corroborate and illumine our statement. According to the census of 1931, 87.8 per cent of the Jews of Poland gave Yiddish and Hebrew as their mother

tongue; in the former Russian parts of Poland, the percentage was over 90. According to the figures for 1934-1935, the Jewish religious and secular schools which were maintained by Polish Jewry had an aggregate enrollment of about 226,000. Compared with the total number of Jewish children of school age, this was about 50 per cent of all such children. If we bear in mind that most of the pupils at the Jewish schools, especially the religious schools (which were attended by 171,000 of the aforesaid 226,000) were boys, it follows that between 85 and 90 per cent of the boys studied at the special Jewish schools maintained by Polish Jewry.

About 60,000 children attended schools with Hebrew as the language of instruction: more than 44,000 the Tarbuth and over 15,000 the Yavneh (Mizrachi) schools. In these institutions were brought up those Chalutzim who comprised the Third Aliyah to Eretz Israel, that aliyah which was so fruitful a continuation of the traditions of the Second Aliyah.

In the 1930's there were in Poland 30 Yiddish dailies, 112 Yiddish weeklies, and 137 other Yiddish periodicals; 5 Polish-language Jewish dailies, 14 such weeklies, and 55 other such publications. In addition, there were 4 Hebrew weeklies and 24 other such publications. Commensurate with the large numbers and the high quality of the periodicals was the production of books: in 1930, it amounted to 526 titles, of which about two-thirds were in Yiddish and the rest in Hebrew.

It is very difficult to divide the past decade (in reality, eleven years) into definite periods of time. To be sure, there is one mark by which this decade could be divided into two periods: the Polish massacres of Jews from mid-1944, from the start of the liberation of Poland, to the beginning of 1947 and the ensuing years of, so to speak, "normal" development, without the impact of the openly anti-Semetic, oppressive atmosphere. But this division, however important, does not explain all the processes of emigration, welfare work, and cultural activities which were governed by many other causes and motives, factors and trends.

B. On the Eve of the Kielce Pogrom

The Kielce Pogrom of July 4, 1946, shocked the world, especially the Jewish world. In fact, however, this pogrom was only the most conspicuous and widely reported as well as the most extensive of anti-Jewish actions in liberated Poland. After the Hitler slaughter of millions of Jews before the eyes of the Polish people, one would have thought that even if their hatred for the Jews was not mollified they would at least desist from physical violence against them. But the appearance of Jews in the places liberated from the Germans enraged the Poles, and the Jews were given to understand that the Poles were not ready to tolerate them in their midst. To the traditionally strong Polish anti-Semitic feelings were added a number of new and complex reasons, in the main the opposition of large groups of the population and the Catholic Church to the regime imported from Moscow (which also included some Jews), the fear that the Jews would demand back the properties which Poles had acquired, and the general growth of ultra-nationalism as the result of the 1939 defeat, the double occupation, and the loss of the Eastern teritories to the U.S.S.R.

The murder of Jews by Poles started even before the Red Army occupied any part of Poland. It increased immediately after liberation, involving pogroms and threats of murder (if the Jews did not leave the place) in a few towns. An indication of the nationwide nature of these outrages was that, according to press reports, about 150 Jews were killed in March, 1945, alone. A second wave of violence broke out in the second half of 1945—a pogrom in Cracow, the blowing up of a Jewish house with its inhabitants, invading a hospital and murdering the Jewish inmates, shootings in the dark to frighten away the Jews, dragging Jews to the woods and putting them to death there. In the months of September-November of that year, 116 Jews were killed in 26 towns of Poland and hundreds were wounded. Nor was the terror confined to grown-ups: in a hospital in Lublin a mother was murdered together with two of her children; in another

case, a gang of armed bandits opened fire on a Jewish orphanage at Leszniegrad (near Zakopane)—it was only due to the intervention of the police that the attack was repelled. The toll of the first year of liberation (1945), according to figures compiled by the Jewish Central Committee in Poland, was 352 Jews killed. Approximately the same figure (360) was given by Dr. Emil Sommerstein to the Warsaw correspondent of *The Jewish Chronicle*. The worst of it was that it was not the work of small gangs of anti-Semites. As the celebrated Yiddish journalist, Bernard Singer, wrote on August 22, 1945, in the *Jewish Journal,* "the liquidation of the Jews in Poland is going on to the terribly hostile or indifferent accompaniment of the Polish citizenry." In certain instances even soldiers of the Polish Army attacked Jews. There were cases where Jews were attacked without interference from the police, as even the political parties comprising the government were not free from anti-Semitism. Singer cried: "Why does the Catholic Church in Poland keep quiet? Why do not the Polish Bishops speak out?" The answer was given by Rabbi David Kahane, former Chief Jewish Chaplain of the Polish Army, who said that the Polish clergy had been backing Fascist bands which engaged in anti-Semitic activities and had done nothing to check anti-Semitism.

C. The Kielce Pogrom and its Aftermath

The most atrocious of all the pogroms and the one which marked the end of an epoch, took place on July 4, 1946, in Kielce. It was apparently not only contemplated in advance (it was prepared pretty well on the lines of ritual murder, except that the alleged murder of Polish boys was not connected with the use of their blood), but also part of a wider scheme: similar accusations and smaller pogroms were attempted elsewhere, including Silesia and Pomerania; there were also assaults upon Jews in trains (resulting in the murder of 33 Jews in one week), etc.

Let us first listen to the account of the pogrom given by a

very prominent Jewish Communist. B. Mark, the Communist editor of *Dos Naye Lebn,* organ of the Jewish Central Committee, wrote as follows in the July 12, 1946, issue of that paper:

> Not under the black cover of night did the ruffians do their bloody work; nor were they embarrassed, ashamed, or afraid. It was not a night but a DAY of the long knife.
>
> I saw the survivors, saw them at a hospital in Lodz. I looked into their faces, which looked like porged meat. The assailants did not want merely to kill the Jews, but to torture them.
>
> "Shoot me, I cannot stand the pain any longer", Joseph Feingold implored the mob. "Suffer, agonize, accursed Jew!" was the answer.
>
> It was an orgy of torture, a well-nigh mystic dance of murder, a sacred service of cruelty.
>
> The young poet Saltzman, who was on his way to Lodz, to the Writers' Club, with his latest manuscript, was pulled off the train by the ruffians. One of them clutched his hands, while another kept hitting him for a long time in the face with a lump of coal weighing several pounds, beating the face into pulp. When the beater grew tired, another took up the "sacred" work, then a third, then a fourth, until the victim became unconscious.
>
> They kept hitting the Cracow Jew Konor on the head with iron bars. Elegant ladies enthusiastically egged on the murderers with the cry: "Hit him some more!"
>
> Slowly, leisurely, they first broke the nose of the Jew Dorfman of Otwock, then pulled out his teeth, then smashed his jaw, then gouged his eyes.

Who were the ruffians? Professional robbers, murderers, beasts of the forest? Mark gives us the answer: "Among those who beat the helpless victims were young mothers of infants with delicate fingers and tender, maternal hearts. There were many who had read Mickiewicz, who at school had studied Slowacki, Orzeszko, and Zeromski. The sweet savor of Jewish blood intoxicated them."

Mark describes more murderers, who on the Sunday before the pogrom had piously knelt at church and prayed to their

God. What did they pray for? For courage to murder and torture more and more Jews?

Mark does not content himself with a mere description; he is so disheartened by the picture he saw that he writes the following words, seeking the causes of the pogrom: "The sad fact is that the common people are actuated by an unreasoning, almost biological hatred for Jews."

The following sentence from a Warsaw dispatch which appeared in the *New York Times* of July 17, 1946, or roughly ten days after the pogrom, says all that can be said of the massacre in relation to the attitude of the Polish population toward the Jews and the Jewish mood at that time. We quote:

> News of the pogrom at Kielce may have shocked the outside world. Inside Poland, as far as can be seen, there was hardly a ripple of surprise.

The Kielce pogrom represented a turning point insofar as it compelled the Government to take stringent action: the murderers were tried and measures against those behind them were taken. This action provoked strikes in some factories, attacks were renewed on Jews in various towns and in trains, and demonstrations against Jews took place. Although with the consolidation of the power of the Government open demonstrations and attacks on Jews ceased, this was not due to a change of heart on the part of the population, but was the result of the stringent measures to restore order.

D. The Exodus from Poland

The Kielce pogrom was not only a turning point in the anti-Semitic action of the Poles; it also supplied the most potent stimulus for the exodus of the Jews from Poland. In the question of the exodus from Poland there were three parties: The largest party was the mass of the Jews. This party was animated by a sound instinct for safety, namely, that there was no place for them in postwar Poland, and guided by a high ideal: striving for a Jewish State, for a country where one would

not have to beg for leave to stay, nor to be afraid of "biological hatred."

We shall see presently that the majority of the Jews in Poland were returnees from Russia and the rest returnees from concentration camps or survivors of ghettos. About half of the first group were ill: the Polish correspondent of the New York pro-Communist *Einikeit* confirmed in May, 1946, that "fifty per cent of the returnees from the Soviet Union are incapacitated for work." All of them needed particular care and peace. What reception did they get when they arrived in Poland? We have detailed the story of violence. Let us now have a general description of the situation. The October 27, 1945, issue of the *New York Times* reported that regardless of the worse than terrible plight of the Jews in the war years and regardless of the steps taken by the Polish Government to check anti-Semitism, the latter had revived in Poland on such a scale that it would force the majority of Jews to emigrate from Poland. The civilian administration was in many instances openly hostile to the returning Jews and not infrequently outspokenly anti-Semitic. The repatriates who had no relatives were left to sleep on park benches or in the streets, as related by an eyewitness.

The opposing party consisted of the Jewish Communists, who did not want to be left without Jews, because their usefulness to Communism was mainly bound up with the existence of a Jewish minority. In addition, it was only in the Yiddish language that they could display all their talents and make use of all their abilities.

The third party was the Polish Government, which had to reckon with the elemental desire of the Jewish masses, with their readiness to force their way across the borders, with their unrest and excitement. It also had to reckon with the Jews of the whole world, to whom there had been communicated the elemental fear and wrath of the Jewish masses who had gone through more than one hell. Finally, the Polish Government was not yet so firmly in the saddle as to disregard world public

opinion, which was sympathetically disposed toward the Jewish masses.

As a result of all these factors, there came about a veritable exodus accompanied by a whole series of compromises and concessions, which led to it that about four-fifths of the number of Jews who were in Poland at one time or another left the country. The legal emigration formed the smaller part of the exodus. The semi-legal, quasi-legal, and wholly illegal emigration accounted for about 180,000 Jews, the great majority of whom went to Israel and helped no little in winning the War of Independence and in consolidating the victories.

During the first months after the end of the war, there was a constant coming and going over the borders which cannot be put into exact figures. Beginning October, 1945, almost 200 Jews managed daily to slip across the Polish borders and into Austria. The total number of emigrants during the year 1945 was estimated by P. Zalecki, the Secretary of the Central Committee, at 20,000. Strictly speaking, the border was closed, but one paid little attention to that.

The flight to the American zone of Germany was spontaneous and quite impetuous from the first day that Hitler's defeat became complete; but it assumed a wholly different tempo and character after the Kielce Pogrom.

Forty-two killed and more than a hundred wounded in the Kielce Pogrom "caused no surprise in Poland," but it impelled Jews not only to flee, but to jump across borders without regard to the barriers on both sides of the frontier. They jumped across the borders with infants in arms, with sacks on the back, with sore feet whose ailment had been contracted in Russia, driven on by the consciousness of the "biological hatred" toward Jews. Again there were casualties, but the mass of Jews were seized with such instinctive fear that they were determined to seek safety without any explanation, feeling that nowhere else could it be worse than in Poland.

After the Kielce Pogrom the Zionist Organization of Poland resolved to proclaim an "exodus from Poland." The Government

was informed about it and the latter agreed to keep the borders actually open for the space of one month. The resolution of the Zionists was not made public, neither did the Polish Government announce its decision or, more properly, its consent. But Jews began to flock to the borders, and the month was extended to many months, more properly until the middle of 1947. It was not until June, 1947, that the Government instituted foreign passports. Previously, if a Jew wanted to leave Poland, he did it in a semi-legal way. Officially he was supposed to be crossing the Polish border illegally, but unofficially the Government knew about it but looked the other way.

This was at a time when the Bevin policy of barriers and restrictions was still raging in Palestine, while it was difficult to gain admission to other countries. But the Jews of Poland knew one thing: in the DP camps of Germany, Austria, and Italy one was secure in his person and assured of sustenance, and above all, there was hope of somehow making one's way to a free country, as far away from Poland as possible.

There arose a new factor which beckoned to emigration: to all the negative causes there was added a positive one, which deeply stirred the Jewish population—stirred, inspired, and strengthened the will to get out at the earliest possible from a country where the entire soil was saturated with Jewish blood; where its was becoming ever harder to be a Jew; where the rule of the Jewish Communists had become more and more oppressive. There was created the State of Israel, thereby adding a factor which could beg and also demand. And regardless of the open resentment of the Jewish Communists, the Polish Government, toward the end of 1949, conducted negotiations with the Israel Legation about permitting legal emigration for a certain period of time.

The joy of the Jewish masses know no bounds: there was a rush as to a wedding feast. The Left Labor Zionist, Adolf Berman, well acquainted with the temper of the masses, thus described the mood of the Jewish population in an article which appeared in the London *Jewish Chronicle* of June 23, 1950:

> Over a year ago, the Polish authorities indicated that they would adopt a liberal attitude towards Jewish emigration to Israel. But it was not until the late summer of 1949 that the change actually occurred. A special Government Commission "for the solution of the Jewish problem" was formed. . . . The Commission conducted a detailed study of Jewish problems in Poland, and decided that they must be radically solved by 1950.
>
> As for the solution, the Commission decided that by January, 1950, all Jewish institutions should be taken over by the State, and that Jews should be accorded the right of free emigration to Israel if they so desired.
>
> It is difficult to describe the excitement which this aroused among tens of thousands of Polish Jews. All Zionist parties convened special conferences. Mapam, the strongest party, called on its members to mobilize for mass Aliyah. . . .
>
> A special communique from the Ministry of Public Administration subsequently elaborated on the method of registration for Aliyah. . . .
>
> As soon as registration started, a considerable section of the Jewish population expressed its willingness to go, notwithstanding the fact that the economic position of the Jews in Poland was favorable, and despite reports of the difficulties facing newcomers in Israel.

Berman himself settled in Israel early in 1950. In the above article he stated:

> Until now, about 25,000 Jews (30,000, if children are included) have registered for emigration. As the time limit for registration does not expire until August 31, it is apparent that the majority of the 70,000 Jews in Poland will eventually go to Israel.

Many tricks were devised by the Jewish Communists to harass the Jews who registered for emigration. This harassment went on for weeks and in many cases for months, for it was necessary to go to the Committee of the Jewish Cultural Society for a certificate that one was a Jew and had paid all one's taxes. It is known from official figures that 29,706 Jews immigrated to Israel from Poland in the years 1950-1953; these are figures about Polish Jews who came direct from Poland (i.e., they do not include

those Polish Jews who came from DP camps or other temporary abodes).

Had not the authorities halted the emigration at the end of 1950, or had not the Jewish Communities hampered the emigration during 1950, there would be far fewer Jews in Poland today. This is obvious from Berman's article from which we quoted above. This was undoubtedly the dream of the great majority of Jews in Poland with the exception of small groups of Communists.

That the dream of emigration still haunts a great many Jews in Poland is confirmed by all those individuals who have managed in the last four years to get out of that country.

E. The Number of Jews in Poland and their Geographical Distribution

As said, Jews began to reappear in Poland as soon as a place was liberated from the Germans. There are no reliable figures on the number of survivors in Poland: those who were in hiding or with the Partisans, those who lived as "Aryans" (their number was reported as over 20,000) or escaped in the last minutes from ghettos and camps which were liquidated by the Germans before they left Poland. It was reported, for instance, that about 5,000 Jews managed to escape from Auschwitz when it was evacuated in January, 1945. The only more or less reliable figures relate to the middle of 1945, when a census, conducted by the Jewish Central Committee, established that the number was 55,509 as of the middle of June (not counting those in the Polish Army). But even this figure is by no means correct because of reported double registration, inclusion of repatriates from Russia, and the non-inclusion of many of those who lived under assumed Aryan names. The Moscow *Einikeit* of October 9, 1945, reported that the census established the number of Jews in Poland at 50,411. As a matter of fact, the number changed constantly because of—on the one hand—the repatriation from Russia, and to a small degree, from Rumania, and the mostly temporary

returnees from DP camps in Germany, whose number was estimated at 20,000, and—on the other—the emigration to Germany and Austria, etc. Actually, even the number of returnees from Russia is not known exactly. One source reported the number of those who returned from Russia during the first seven or eight months of 1946 as amounting to about 160,000 while others asserted that by October, 1946, the figure had reached 130,000 or more, and by the end of 1946—about 170,000. Smaller groups of Polish Jews amounting to a few thousands came in 1947 and 1948: the figure for 1948 is given at about 2,000 persons. Taking the average of the available figures, it may be said that the number of all Jews who at one time or another lived in Poland after the end of the war, without counting the Marranos, was about 220,000 to 240,000 souls.

There are differing data on the number of Jews at a given moment, in addition to the afore-cited figures of the census. The Secretary of the Central Committee of the Jews in Poland, P. Zaleski, estimated their number early in 1946 at 80,000. According to the census of Passover, 1947, based on the number of those who registered for matzoth, the number of Jews at that time was 93,000. The Passover census of 1949 gave a total of nearly 100,000 and that of 1954, about 90,000. However, all these figures must have been exaggerated, because *Dos Naye Lebn* of December 13, 1948, put the total of Jews (without indicating the exact month) at 88,257 souls, while Adolf Berman, in the above-quoted article in the *Jewish Chroncile* of June 23, 1950, estimated the number of Jews in Poland at that time at 70,000 only—a figure which may be accepted as correct.

The figure given by Mr. Berman calls in question the afore-cited figures on the number of Jews in Poland at Passover, 1949 and 1954. And there is no doubt that the figure of 72,000 which was given to the visiting British Labor M.P., Ian Mikardo, as related in his article, "Why Jews Want to Leave Poland," (*The Jewish Chronicle,* October 15, 1954) does not correspond to the reality. As stated above, according to the registration for matzoth for Passover, 1954, there were 90,000 Jews, but the Jewish Com-

munists themselves deducted about 20,000 from this number, assuming that many non-Jews, posing as Jews, claimed matzoth. That so large a number of non-Jews could deceive the registering officials seems very strange. According to the figure which the Israel Branch of the World Jewish Congress Executive obtained, also from Poland, the number was not 72,000 as reported by Mr. Mikardo, but 66,837, and likewise on the basis of the registration for matzoth for Passover, 1954. In this connection it is stated that about 15 per cent of the Jews did not register with the Jewish communities for matzoth, and so it is deduced that the number of Jews is approximately 75,000.

All these figures must be exaggerated, and we have to assume that the number of Jews in Poland today is not more than 45,000, as appears from the statement of Adolf Berman, who was Chairman of the Central Committee of Polish Jews. As Chairman and in addition Left Labor Zionist, he had no reason to understate the number of Jews in Poland.

Two characteristics of the distribution of Jews in postwar Poland strike the eye: (1) The Jews strive to settle and remain in the former German regions. And unquestionably one of the factors at work in this tendency consists in the desire to be as near as possible to the borders facing Western Europe and not those facing Russia. We say one of the factors because no doubt other factors have also been at work, such as rent-free homes at the disposal of settlers; requisitions of land and other possessions with the ready approval of the Polish Government; and certainly also the better accomodations of both the dwellings and the social institutions. (2) Jews shun Warsaw. It is as though the Jews were simply afraid to tread upon the ground which is most deeply steeped in Jewish blood; as though the Jews stubbornly avoided a city where the cruelty of both the Hitlerite murderers and their Polish helpers manifested itself in the most terrible and savage manner.

Let us first say a few words about the relative weight of the Jewish population. According to the census of 1950, Poland had 26,200,000 inhabitants. The natural increase during the last five

years must be estimated at over a million. It follows that the percentage of Jews in the total population is about 0.17. This percentage requires no comment.

According to the latest figures (supplied by Simeon Sammet "Jews and Jewishness in Present-Day Poland." *Jewish Daily Forward,* April 10, 1955), the Jews of Poland are distributed as follows: in Wroclaw (formerly Breslau), 12,000-15,000; in Lodz, 12,000; in Szczecin, 5,000; in Dzierzanow, 5,000; in Walbrzych, 5,000; in Cracow, 3,000-5,000. This gives us a total of over 40,000 Jews in these few cities alone. According to other reports, there were about 8,000 Jews in Warsaw, about 10,000 each in Lodz and Cracow, about 3,000 each in Stalinogrod (formerly Katowice) and Szczecin. However, it is interesting to note that Mr. Sammet, who traveled in Poland for weeks, does not find it necessary even to mention the number of Jews in Warsaw. According to various estimates, the present Jewish population of Warsaw does not exceed 3,000-4,000, and a recent arrival in Israel put the number of Jews in Lodz at 5,000 only.

Here is an example of how unreliable the reported figures are. The aforesaid journalist Sammet was told that there are now 3,000 to 5,000 Jews in Cracow. But in the June 11, 1955, issue of the Communist *Morning Freiheit* there is a letter from a Communist about a trip to Poland and a visit to Cracow, who gives the city's Jewish population not at 3,000 to 5,000, but as 600!

The real situation would seem to be as follows: In the three cities—Warsaw, Lodz, and Wroclaw—there live about 20,000 to 30,000 Jews, two-thirds of the total Jewish population of Poland. The rest are scattered in scores of cities and towns. Hundreds of localities where Jews lived for many centuries, now do not have a single Jewish inhabitant. Even the Jewish cemeteries have been plowed up. Bialystok, which on the eve of World War II had a Jewish population of 39,000, now has 150 Jewish inhabitants. Grodno, which had a Jewish population of 21,000 on the eve of the war, now has even fewer Jews.

And in many localities Jewish houses remained intact and are now occupied by active or passive participants in the annihilation of almost 90 per cent of Poland's pre-war Jewry.

F. Economic Life

In the case of Jews who stampeded back from the camps and Russia and who dreamt of escaping from Poland at the earliest possible, one could not expect normal occupations. Accordingly, they resorted to many makeshifts. Some traded in things abandoned by the fleeing Germans and got hold of a piece of cultivated land and became farmers. Still others found employment in the factories of Wroclaw and Lodz, which explains why these two cities still contain the largest Jewish populations. Not until 1947 did a certain situation crystallize which may be called normal; relatively speaking, of course, insofar as there arose certain groups with particular skills who found a means of livelihood in their own craft or speciality.

In the first period there was still another factor, which is usually included in the cultural category, but in the given case it was rather a social-economic enterprise. We have in mind the kibbutzim (collective labor groups) which all Zionist groups began to establish from the very first day of Poland's liberation. Extensive productivization and cultural work were carried on in the kibbutzim. The young, who rarely had a home and who were Zionist-minded, flocked by the thousands to the kibbutzim. The thousands of adolescents and young adults employed at the kibbutzim, where they received not only food and clothing, but education and vocational training, including instruction in farming, greatly lightened the burden of the Jewish relief institutions. We will therefore dwell first on the kibbutzim.

In the first weeks immediately after part of the country was liberated by the Red Army and Polish forces, a handful of men, just emerged from the lowest depths of human degradation, from over 5 years' sojourn in the Hitler hell, met in order to begin anew the interrupted Zionist work.

During the first year, from August, 1944 to August, 1945, 12 kibbutzim were established in which over 500 Chalutzim worked and studied. According to Paul Novick, at the beginning of July, 1946, a director of the kibbutzim of Ichud (General Zionists) told him that in all the kibbutzim there were then 15,000 Jews.

This number was to be found in the kibbutzim at a particular time. But inasmuch as the inmates of the kibbutzim gradually emigrated from the country, in an organized manner, and their places in the kibbutzim were taken by others, it can safely be said that tens of thousands of Jews passed through the kibbutzim.

Let us get acquainted with the figures for only four major kibbutzim. Following is the vocational distribution of those gainfully employed among the members of the four kibbutzim.

Occupation	*Number of Gainfully Emploed*
Tailors	493
Shoemakers	301
Carpenters	213
Bakers	71
Locksmiths and bricklayers	326
Farming and kitchen gardening	172
Coal miners	102
Government enterprises	1,598
Unskilled laborers	1,166
Cooks, health and domestic service	1,439
Total	5,821

Here we have a clear picture of the colossal role which the kibbutzim played economically, and not economically only. The character of the enumerated four kibbutzim was not of the agrarian type common before the war. To be sure, even before the war there were also urban kibbutzim in Poland which used to undertake various city jobs, and the role of the kibbutz consisted in finding and apportioning the work, in training the

Chalutz, and turning him into a skilled worker; and, naturally, in educating him in the Zionist way, in teaching him Hebrew, and above all, instilling in him a Chalutzic spirit.

As time went on, the situation became more crystallized and the vocational distribution of the Jewish population fitted into the new economic and social order.

The organ of the Central Committee of Jews in Poland, *Dos Naye Lebn,* of December 13, 1948, gives interesting figures on the socio-economic structure of the Jewish population. Of a total Jewish population of 88,257, 36,954, or 44.2 per cent, were gainfully employed. This would be (if the total figure was correct) a larger percentage of gainfully employed than in pre-war Poland, where, according to the census of 1931, the percentage of gainfully employed Jews was only 36. It should be borne in mind, however, that the Jewish population in 1948 did not contain any old persons and but very few children. The largest group (17,080 or 46.2%) represented heavy and light industry; the second (6,879 or 18.6%), State, municipal, and community employees; the third (4,380 or 11.9%), commerce; the fourth (3,540 or 9.6%), health and social workers. Then followed schools and educational institutions (1,843 or 5%), agriculture (677 or 1.8%) and communications and transport (523 or 1.4%). The rest (2,033 or 5.5%) were engaged in various other occupations.

The percentage of those employed in agriculture was very small, less than half of what it was before the war. The percentage of those employed in heavy and light industry was approximately the same as before the war, according to the census of 1931. There was only one minor difference, namely, that in 1948 there were 800 Jewish coal miners.

In commerce the percentage of the gainfully employed Jews was one-third of what it was before the war. This would perhaps be an achievement but for the consciousness that tens of thousands of Jewish stores were now in the hands of Poles, who stole not only the premises, but also the merchandise.

If we add figures for the categories of professionals, officials, and white collar workers, we find in these groups more than a third of all the gainfully employed Jews, about six times as much as before the war.

There are no detailed data on the occupational distribution in subsequent years. The Jewish Communists carried on a vociferous campaign of propaganda to have Jews leave the artisans' workshops and cooperatives and go to work in large-scale industry. They agitated and also threatened. To this day the majority of Jews are apparently still employed in handicraft, although in an interview given by Hirsch Smolar, head of the Social Cultural Association of Polish Jews, on September 16, 1955 to Harry Schwartz (conrtibutor to the *New York Times*), it was stated that most Polish Jews are now workers; about 70 per cent are engaged in the leather, textile, and other light industries and the rest in coal mining, metallurgy, and other heavy industries.

What are the reasons which caused Jews to stick to handicraft? To begin with, a material consideration: a good artisan earned more than an industrial worker. Again, the artisan enjoyed more freedom in his arrangement of the work and "stealthily" rested on Saturday (the Jewish Sabbath) and worked on Sunday. "Stealthily" because of the Jewish Communists: the law is neutral in this matter. Finally, the Jewish artisans exhibited a good deal of creative energy and practical judgment under the existing conditions and combined in cooperatives which were practical in many if not all respects: first of all, it was much easier for the cooperatives to obtain raw materials from the Government reserves; second, it was easier to obtain subventions and loans from the Joint Distribution Committee; thirdly, the marketing of the finished products was much more profitable. It is therefore worthwhile to glance at the wonderful cooperative structure reared by the Jewish artisans, although the great majority harbored plans to escape at the earliest possible from Poland.

The number of Jewish cooperatives and of those employed in them was as follows:

Years	*No. of Cooperatives*	*No. of Employes*
November 1, 1946	114	2,811
January 1, 1948	182	6,031
July 1, 1948	208	8,002

From 1946 to mid-1948 the number of cooperatives nearly doubled, but the number of employees almost tripled. And these were purely Jewish cooperatives, which received very large loans, amounting to millions of dollars, which later remained in Poland, although it had been promised that they would be repaid.

The value of the goods produced by these cooperatives, which not only turned out fine goods but also set up an efficient marketing apparatus, aggregated as follows: in 1946, about 113 million zlotys, and in 1948, about 8 billion zlotys (or about 20 million dollars).

With the growth of the Jewish exodus, the ranks of the cooperatives grew thinner and thinner. It is interesting to note that in the majority of cooperatives even the members who emigrated legally were not paid their share. This was by way of punishment for leaving the Communist fatherland which was increasingly hailed from year to year by the Jewish Communists as the dearly beloved country, as the country of the Jew's future.

The Jewish Communists began to carry out the policy of changing the cooperatives from purely Jewish bodies to heterogeneous ones. The first reason adduced was that the common work of Jews and non-Jews would make for brotherly relations among the people of the new Poland. From individual figures on cooperatives it is evident that by 1952 many of them had a non-Jewish majority. Previously the Jewish members often thought up reasons for observing a Jewish holiday or for working shorter hours on the Jewish Sabbath; with a mixed membership this became impossible. In August, 1955, according to Hirsh Smolar,

about 8,000 Jews were members of Jewish cooperatives, ranging from farming cooperatives to textile work and shoe-making.

A few lines on the various trades represented in the cooperatives. In 1948 the ready-made clothing cooperatives comprised 42 per cent of the total membership and accounted for 52 per cent of the value of the total output. The leather goods cooperatives comprised 17 per cent of the total membership and accounted for 16 per cent of the total value. These two trades, which had been the principal occupations of the Jews in Poland before the war, were also their chief vocations there after the catastrophe.

In the last few years scores and possibly hundreds of Jewish workers have gone to work in large-scale industry, among them many "shock" workers who have attained higher positions, such as department heads, and even managers. Jewish youths, graduates of technical high schools, have entered big industry where the prospects of advancement are much better. At the same time there has been some change in the two principal industries during these years. Conditions in the factories have become much improved, more hygienic, with better prospects for the future. For this reason, young Jews have in recent years flocked almost exclusively to the factories. The Jewish Communists are dancing for joy; but the Jewish youth is being submerged and swallowed up in a Polish sea. Assimilation, which was already intensive enough, is now proceeding at a tempo never witnessed before in Poland.

G. Cultural and Religious Life

At the beginning of 1948 the following Yiddish schools existed in Poland: 20 kindergartens, with an enrollment of 1,227; 33 elementary Day Schools, with an enrollment of 2,986; 4 afternoon schools, with 51 pupils; total enrollment at the various types of Yiddish schools, 4,264. In addition, there were Hebrew schools, with an enrollment of 1,100. Altogether, the Jewish schools were attended by 5,364 children, who constituted about 40

per cent of all Jewish children of school age. (*Unser Zeit,* New York, June, 1948, page 19.) The Yiddish schools were under the control of the Jewish central Committee, while the Hebrew schools were under that of the Zionist groups. But Hebrew was also taught at the schools of the Committee, though not much of it.

The subsequent developments will not be clear unless we dwell a little on the political situation. In 1948 the tendency of the Polish Communists to get rid of the coalition parties and themselves to take over the reins of government became most pronounced. It goes without saying that the Jewish Central Committee followed the same line. In the *Folks-Sztyme* of November 12, 1948, there was published a resolution adopted at a conference of the active Jewish members of the Polish Communist Party. The resolution expressed regret that "the class struggle has hitherto been neglected in the Jewish street," that "the, to us, alien Zionist ideology has not been opposed with sufficient energy," that "the political bourgeois utopian movement of Chalutzism" had not been adequately combatted.

There ensued that campaign which very soon led to the closing of the Chalutz training centers and the Hebrew schools.

Of course, a great role, indeed, a very great role in the liquidation of Jewish cultural activity was played by the large emigration. In 1955, there were reported 9 elementary and 3 high schools with Yiddish as the language of instruction. There was a report that the Yiddish high school of Lodz had an enrollment of about 400.

Hirsh Smolar told the correspondent of the London *Jewish Chronicle* that there are now 7 elementary schools and 3 high schools in Poland, in which about 2,000 Jewish children are receiving instruction in Yiddish.

But what matters more is what they teach in these schools. The textbooks used in these institutions do not contain the name of a single Jewish historical hero, or an account of a Jewish holiday, or an ordinary tale of Jewish life. We say "ordinary," because while they do reproduce tales from Mendele,

Peretz, Reisin, and other Yiddish writers, these are exclusively stories of Jewish poverty or of the suffering of the poor at the hands of the rich and powerful.

No instruction is given in the Hebrew language or even in Jewish history. There is much information on Lenin and Stalin as well as on Polish life. Polish patriotism has become the sole topic of both the textbooks and the poetic effusions.

Along with the Jewish social activity in Poland to be described further on, there arose a large Jewish press. The first Yiddish paper to appear in postwar Poland was *Dos Naye Lebn,* which was founded in Lodz on April 10, 1945. Originally a semi-weekly, it became a daily on January 1, 1948. Early in 1947 there was a Jewish press in Poland which could easily have put to shame much happier Jewish communities in other lands, both as regards quantity and quality. The publications were mostly divided along party lines, each group having one and frequently two (Yiddish and Polish) organs. In the beginning of 1948 over 30 Jewish periodical papers and publications appeared in Poland. But this expansion was short-lived and the bulk of the publications closed down in 1949. By 1950, all but the Communist-dominated publications had disappeared.

The cultural life of the Polish Jews is governed by the Cultural Association, which also administers the Jewish archives and the Jewish Museum in Warsaw and the central Jewish library and printing plant. According to Polish Jewish sources, the Association had some time ago 16 branches, with a combined membership of 6,563 persons. There is still considerable publishing activity in Yiddish. The number of annual subscribers to the publications of the Yiddish Book Publishing House rose in 1953 to 5,300. From time to time the publishing house announces new publications, mostly translations but also new editions of Mendele Mocher Sforim and other Jewish classics. The Historical Institute publishes a journal containing important material. The Jewish Communists publish a monthly called *Shriften.*

In 1952 the Yiddish Book Publishing House published 31 Yiddish books. In the most recent years, it has brought out no

fewer than 24 volumes annually, among them works of Mendele, Peretz, Sholom Aleichem, and, of course, also of Lenin and Stalin. It must be acknowledged that it has also published major historical works on the Hitler massacres and the Warsaw Ghetto Uprising.

Despite this literary output, the small Jewish community is sinking. Dr. Nathan Sznejberg, who visited Poland in 1953, was quoted as saying upon his return to Israel that the Yiddish language as a spoken tongue was disappearing, and that the Yiddish Theatre was attended mostly by Gentiles. He also told of the veritable epidemic of mixed marriages, saying that intermarriage was a common occurrence among the young.

One of the results of the decline of Jewish life was the closing down in 1953 of the Yiddish Theatre in Lodz. There still exists a Yiddish Theatre in Wroclaw (Silesia), but it moves from town to town and the bulk of the audience consists of Gentiles. A recent broadcast from Warsaw reported about the Yiddish State Theatre in that city, which has been given a special building by the Government. According to Mr. Smolar, there are 30 Jewish culture clubs, each with a Yiddish library, dramatic circle, etc.

The handful of Jewish intellectuals, as mentioned, are very active. They publish a Yiddish paper which appears four times a week in issues of 6 and often 8 pages. They publish a monthly magazine devoted to political and cultural questions. They also issue a quarterly devoted to the Hitler massacres. They organize hundreds of meetings and lectures annually.

At the end of January, 1955, the second Jewish art festival was held at the Yiddish Theatre in Wroclaw. It was attended by Jewish choirs, orchestras, and dramatic societies from various Jewish communities. Yiddish was predominant but most of the songs had as their theme the people's democracies, socialism, and peace. Some Hebrew songs were also recited there.

In July, 1955, the Warsaw radio carried an interview in Yiddish with Mr. Hurwitz, vice-chairman of the Cultural-Social

Union of Polish Jews. Mr. Hurwitz gave a survey of the cultural development in the last 10 years which represented (in his words) "a full-blooded, colorful, creative Jewish cultural life," but little information about the present situation except that the Jewish books are published in editions of 6,000 to 7,000 copies (according to Smolar, the publishing house brings out 30 volumes a year, mostly of a literary nature, and has 5,500 subscribers), and that all cultural institutions and, in general, all cultural activities of the Jewish "working people" are completely maintained by the State.

The larger Jewish Communities are recognized by the Government and are active in religious and cultural affairs. The number of synagogues is small: one each in Warsaw, Wroclaw, and Lodz and, apparently, two in Cracow. Daily services are held in Lodz and Wroclaw. In Lublin a single synagogue still stands, but it has been cofiscated by the Government and turned into a factory because the 400 Jews of Lublin do not need a synagogue and can pray in a private house. The synagogue in Warsaw is closed on weekdays for lack of worshipers; on Saturdays and holidays a few dozen and on Yom Kippur a few hundred congregate there. (On Rosh Hashanah, 1955, however, fewer than 100 Jews attended the services.) The reason is that all the Jews are employed in State offices or plants and are afraid to stay away from work. There is a single mohel in the whole of Poland and his work is steadily decreasing, mainly as a result of mixed marriages. Kosher meat is available in the larger Jewish settlements, but the number of kosher butchers is on the decrease.

The situation in the smaller communities may be summed up by the case of Lublin: there is no rabbi, no shohet, and no Jewish school; there is practically no Jewish communal life at all.

Mordechai Lichtenstein, head of the Warsaw religious community, thus described the situation to Harry Schwartz: "Our rabbi is 80 years old and there are no new rabbis in sight. We would be glad if some of the Jewish children here learned to pray in Hebrew. Beyond our lifetime, the future is up to God." (*The New York Times*, September 18, 1955.)

H. Communal and Political Life

Emigration solved the problem of the great majority of the survivors of the massacre of Polish Jewry; but this was not accomplished in one day nor even in one year. As we have seen, it took years. In the meantime one had to live, which meant looking for a livelihood. It was neccessary to send the children to school. It was also necessary and desirable not to let the masses fritter away their time in dreams of flight, so cultural institutions had to be created. Equally important and urgent was the question of training youth, nor youth alone, for aliyah. This was the sacred dream of all Zionist factions from the first moment of free activity, even before the final defeat of Hitler.

The following excerpt from a statement by Dr. Emil Sommerstein, the Chairman of the Central Committee, which was published in the *Jewish Chronicle* of February 1, 1946, (p. 9), will afford an idea of the social atmosphere in Poland at that time:

> The remnant of Polish Jewry, although apparently united under the Central Jewish Committee, is nevertheless beset to some extent by party friction. Ostensibly, the main legal Jewish parties—the Bund, the Jewish Communists, Poale Zion, and other Zionist groups are represented on this Committee, both in Warsaw and the provincial cities. But in actual fact, it is the policy of the Jewish Communists that is predominant. This group is not a party in itself, but is called the Jewish cell of the Polish Communist Party P.P.R. In the same way, the Bund tends to become a Jewish section of the Socialist P.P.S.
>
> Friction arises out of the fact that the policy of these left-wing groups is not necessarily the policy of the remainder of the Polish Jews (probably the majority), who are Jewish nationalists and staunchly Zionist. For instance, the Zionists want as many children as possible, and particularly orphans, to leave Poland. Nor is the Government averse to this plan. But the Jewish Communists are opposed to it, and a recent offer by Sweden . . . to take a number of Jewish children, was turned down by the Jewish Committee on pressure from the Communists.

> Apart from the Central Committee, there is a Jewish religious Council. The former Jewish community councils have not been reestablished, and the Aguda has been banned, together with all Polish parties declared to be reactionary and undemocratic. The religious Council, therefore, is the only body recognized by the State as being responsible for the religious needs of the Jews, that is, the supervision of Kashrut, weddings, circumcisions, and Synagogue services.

We thus get some idea of the state of mind among the Jews in the first months of Poland's liberation.

A vast amount of social activity was developed in the first postwar years. A big role was no doubt played by the financial contribution from America, chiefly from the Joint Distribution Committee, but an even bigger part was played by the extraordinary social activity of the small Jewish community which flocked back from the forests and bunkers, from the concentration and death camps, from the Siberian cold and years of hunger. Particularly active were the Zionist groups, which from the outset stressed preparation for aliyah, for the final struggle for a Jewish State. This last solution was nowhere else in the world accepted with such enthusiasm and with such faith in its imminent realization, as in Poland.

The Jewish Communists, like the Polish Government, pursued a coalition policy during the first three years. As stated above, they permitted all groupings of all ideological trends, except the Agudath Israel, to participate in the communal work. To be sure, from the very first day they had a much greater say than they were entitled to by their numerical strength in the Jewish community; nevertheless, in the first years, one could do a great deal of work and accomplish many things. Gradually the course of the general, and also of the Jewish, policy changed. Toward the end of 1948, and particularly in 1949, the powers that be began to liquidate all organizations which were not quite all right from the Communist point of view. On December 31, 1949, a decree was issued ordering all Zionist parties and organizations to disband. They carried on for a while illegally and semi-illegally.

The Bund was liquidated through the absorption of part of it by the Communists. Also liquidated were all papers and periodicals which were not to the liking of the Communist rulers. In the course of 1950, the Communists became the sole and complete masters of Jewish life.

But still another factor contributed to the death or decline of many institutions and enterprises. The relatively large emigration reduced the number of Jews in the cooperatives, which played a great role in Jewish life in the first postwar years. The enrollment at the Yiddish schools fell. Naturally, the circulation of the Jewish press and books also declined. Nevertheless, it must be acknowledged that, considering the small number of Jews remaining, their activity is to be admired.

In what follows we shall not be able to trace the development of every kind of activity in the past decade. We shall have to confine our remarks to a general characterization of certain phases in the development of particular institutions. We shall also have to dwell briefly on the present activity of the Communists.

In the first couple of years the social work was placed upon such a broad, almost democratic base that one might have thought and hoped that we were on the threshold of Jewish autonomy in Poland. It seemed as though the Polish Jewish Communists had learned a lesson from the destructive work of the Yevseks (Russian Jewish Communists) and would not repeat the Soviet experiment, which had led to the extinction of Jewish culture even before Stalin laid his deadly hand upon the last remnants of Yiddish literature and the Yiddish theatre. But this hope proved illusory: the lust for power triumphed in the general policy and also among the Jewish Communists, who from the very outset were only a section of the general Communist Party of Poland. Besides, the Jewish Communist group in Poland was a faithful imitator of the policy of the Soviet Yevsektsia group, which was to show at all times that one was more consistent and faithful to "true" Communism than all the other Communists.

The composition of the Jewish Central Committee in the first period was as follows: 6 representatives of the Workers Party (Communists); 4 of the Bund; 3 of the Left Poale Zion; 3 of the Right Poale Zion; 4 of the Ichud, a Zionist coalition group; 2 of the Jewish Partisans; and 3 of minor groups, including Hashomer Hatzair.

The program of the Committee was also a broad one, comprising productivization, emigration, child care, schools, culture, press, and a great many other social welfare activities necessitated by the precarious state of health of the Jewish population. Significantly, from the very start there was never any talk of returning property to Jews. There was a Legal Division in the Committee, but it was for the special purpose of recovering Jewish children from Christian homes. The Communists looked with disfavor upon this last activity, but during the first couple of years they tolerated it.

Many believe that this broad representation was a concession to Jewish public opinion abroad in order to obtain those large sums of money which Poland needed so badly. And indeed, vast sums streamed into Poland: from the Joint Distribution Committee, the various Zionist organizations, the Central Federation of Polish Jews and individual *landsmannschaften,* as well as many other institutions and organizations.

On the occasion of the Slansky trial in Prague, the Yiddish Communist papers the world over carried scores of villifying articles against Zionism of such violence as to surpass the accusations of the Prague press. And the material and tone for this campaign was given by the Polish Jewish Communists.

In the Warsaw *Folks-Sztyme* of November 29, 1952, there appeared an editorial from which we cull the following gem:

> The verdict and the whole Prague trial have completely torn off the curtain with which the Zionist agents of Anglo-American espionage have always sought to hide their criminal activities directed against the vital interests of

> the Jewish people. All the efforts of Zionism to pose as "national deliverer" are merely means to mask its real function as an agency of Anglo-American imperialism, as an enemy of the people, as a Maffia which thinks only of the interests of its employers, the Wall Street enemies of mankind. The men of the Zionist centers now stand exposed before the world as common spies, diversionists, moral enemies of the freedom of the people.

Not long ago a broadcaster on the Warsaw radio, speaking in Yiddish, repeated the accusation that the Zionists had helped to incite the Second World War.

The congress of Polish Jews held in the first quarter of 1953 was devoted mainly to the problems of the ideological reeducation of Polish Jewry through greater efforts by the Jewish Communists. Speaker after speaker urged intensified activity to counteract Jewish nationalism, past and present. A clear indication of the atmosphere which prevailed at the gathering was the "confession" of Simon Regozynski, a well-known laywer and long-time Zionist. He renounced his Zionist ideas and stated that Israel was "in practice a colony of American imperialists."

The Slansky trial, contrary to other People's Democracies, was not followed in Poland with show trials of Zionists or Jewish Communists, despite reports of arrests of Jews and impending trials of scores of them for "illegal Zionist activities" and the expected trial of a few Jewish Communists with "confessions" charging Israel and Zionism with espionage against Poland. The Warsaw radio reported, however, that a band of Zionist spies and agents had been arrested and that some of them had confessed in advance of the trial. Apparently, these were the two local employees of the Israel Lagation.

There were reports about systematic although quiet and cautious elimination of Jews from key executive positions in the Government—nobody was arrested or disgraced, but transferred to positions of lesser "security" risks.

The situation appears to have stabilized in the second half of 1953, and since then no new purges or dismissals have become known. On the occasion of the 10th anniversary of the

end of the war about 100 Jews, writers, engineers, workers, and farmers, were given high government awards for service to Poland.

Most of the recent emigrants from Poland stress the continued existence of anti-Semitism among the people. The prevailing anti-Semitic feeling is one of the major reasons for the desire of the Jews to leave such cities as Lodz. It is noteworthy that, according to a Warsaw broadcast in August, 1955, a Polish spokesman admitted to a Jewish youth delegation from foreign countries that one sometimes encountered anti-Semitic sentiments in Poland. He also said that Poland was fighting against anti-Semitism, and manifestations of it were punishable by law. The existence of latent anti-Semitism was also reported from Lodz by Jack Raymond, the *New York Times* correspondent, in the November 22, 1955, issue of that paper. A young Jew summed up th esituation in these simple words: "You must realize that Jews are not very well liked in Lodz."

I. Contacts with Jews of other Communist Countries

The Youth Festival which took place in Warsaw in August, 1955, and which was attended by more than 30,000 Communist youths from all over the world, including about 700 Jewish youths from various countries, was the first real occasion of contact between the Jewish Communists of Poland and those from other countries. There were about 100 Jewish delegates from Great Britain, many more from Israel, but relatively few from the Soviet Union. In addition, there were Jewish delegates from Argentina, Brazil, France, Canada, and some other countries.

For the Jewish youths special conferences were arranged to discuss problems concerning future coqperation between Jews of the West and the East, to give them an account of the activities of the Jewish Communists in Poland, and to enable them to ask questions and report on conditions in their own countries. Not only were political, cultural, and economic questions aired, but interest in religious life was so keen that S. Farber,

the spokesman of the religious Jews in Poland, was called upon to address the visitors. It is worth mentioning that, for the first time in years, "Hatikvah" was sung at the ceremony of laying wreaths at the foot of the Fighters' Memorial in the former Jewish quarter of Warsaw, and that members of the Israeli group danced, played the flute, and sang at the Festival, which made a powerful impression on the delegates.

RUMANIA

A. Introductory

The number of Jews in Rumania on the eve of the last war must be assumed to have been about 750,000, although there were higher estimates. This figure is based on the 1930 census, which listed 756,930 Jews, and the fact that the 1941 census (which was made after Bessarabia, North Bucovina, and North Transylvania had been ceded to the Soviet Union and Hungary, respectively) showed a decline in the Jewish population in most of the regions compared with the 1930 census.

In 1940, Northern Transylvania was ceded to Hungary under German pressure, and Bessarabia and Northern Bucovina to the U.S.S.R. Rumania regained the two latter parts after the German onslaught upon Russia in 1941, but lost them again after her defeat. However, she regained Northern Transylvania from Hungary.

During the war, Rumanian Jewry was subjected to pogroms, discrimination, alienation of property, and, particularly in the areas outside the Old Kingdom, to deportation and massacres. Only a little over one-half of Rumanian Jewry survived the persecution. The number of the survivors was estimated by the local Jewish organizations at 428,000. These comprised the bulk of the Jewish population in the Old Kingdom, about 40,000 returnees from among the North Transylavania deportees, and some 50,000 of the Bessarabian and North Bucovinian Jews.

B. The Period of Reconstruction

Despite their shattering experience during the war, Rumanian Jews worked with admirable perseverance toward their rehabilitation in both the cultural and economic fields.

They very soon reestablished their religious institutions; 114 larger congregations resumed their activities. The vacant places of their martyred rabbis were filled. The Zionist organizations as well as their political arm, the Jewish Party, soon reopened their offices. The Ununea Evreilor Romani (Union of Rumanian Jews) which had fought for Jewish rights and had been headed for thirty years by Dr. William Filderman, renewed its activities. Two new national Jewish organizations were founded, the Federation of Jewish Religious Communities, with Chief Rabbi Dr. Alexander Shafran and Dr. Filderman at its head, and the Comitetul Democratic Evreilor (The Democratic Committee of the Jews), a leftist organization which was to play so fateful a role in the years to come. In November, 1944, the Rumanian Section of the World Jewish Congress was established which, *i.a.*, produced publications of great importance; the American Joint Distribution Committee, OSE, and ORT opened their offices and gave assistance in the rehabilitation of Rumanian Jewry.

A network of schools comprising over 200 institutions was reestablished. The Tarbut School system was rapidly expanded. Sixteen Jewish weeklies and other periodicals (14 in Rumanian, 1 in Yiddish, 1 in Hungarian) were launched, libraries and reading rooms were established.

Jewish charitable institutions were reopened. The Caritas Nova, the large Bucharest hospital, looted by the Fascists, was reequipped with American Jewish aid. All told, there were at the peak of the rehabilitation period 18 Jewish hospitals, 3 lying-in hospitals, 30 dispensaries, 6 dental dispensaries, 1 polyclinic, and 27 homes for the aged.

In the economic field, the Restitution Law, for all its defects,

restored to the Jews much of their lost property and property rights and positions, with the exception of landed estates.

The first years after the liberation were marked by a great economic boom. The war-ravaged country was hungry for goods and, in addition, a runaway inflation created a feverish circulation of all kinds of merchandise. The Jews participated greatly in the economic rehabilitaion of the country. This was reflected, *i.a.*, in the fact that in a single year, 1946, 2,017 new business firms were founded—more than during the 20-year period 1921-1940.

On the other side of the ledger, there was the circumstance that many Jews had been uprooted from their former economic positions, particularly the former residents of the villages, who were unable to return thither; there were also a large number who were unable to rehabilitate themselves for lack of means, the aged, the crippled who had been incapacitated for life in the concentration camps. In round numbers about one-third of the Jewish population was able to reestablish itself economically, while the rest had to struggle hard to make ends meet.

Then, too, there was the reaction to the experience of the Fascist period. A large segment of the Jews were determined to leave the bloody scenes of massacres and humiliations. As a result, the Zionist movement, always popular in the country, now swept the Jewish masses. Each of its various parties created its own organization; weeklies, pamphlets, lecture courses spread their message throughout the country. Eleven *hachsharot* (training farms) were established with 4,000 trainees. All these organizations were combined in an overall national Zionist Federation whose first president was A.L. Zissu, who in December, 1944, was succeeded by Dr. B. Rohrling.

The total membership of the Zionist groups was estimated at 108,000: about 15,000 in the Zionist youth organization, some 39,000 in Labor Zionist groups, about 50,000 in the General Zionist movement, and 4,000 in the *hachsharot.*

C. The Change-Over

1. The Political Situation

The situation just described did not last long, however.

The first postwar cabinet included semi-Fascist elements: General Nicolai Radescu, the Premier, and Gheorghe Tatarescu, the Minister for Foreign Affairs, were notorious anti-Semites. On March 6, 1945, Dr. Peter Groza formed a coalition cabinet. Up to that time he had been a staunch and proven liberal, but became Moscow's puppet thereafter.

Soon the Communist Party became the dominant political factor in Rumania. In July, 1947, the Communists liquidated the Peasant Party and imprisoned its leaders. In November of the same year they smashed the party of the Liberals and ousted its representatives, Gh. Tatarescu, from the cabinet.

The same technique was employed on the Jewish scene, with the CDE (Jewish Democratic Committee) playing the role of the Communist Party. Founded by Moshe Seltzer-Sarateanu, and composed of left-wing elements and extreme left Zionists, it had no roots in Jewish life. By terroristic methods it forced the resignation of Dr. Filderman from the Presidency of the Union of Rumanian Jews (November 24, 1947), which was subsequently disbanded. The Jewish Party, which had sent two deputies to the Parliament, decided to disband "voluntarily." Now the elimination of the Zionist organizations was begun. But here tough resistance was offered. In the first moves the Communists contrived to share in the vital service of the Zionists' administration of the Aliyah, the Palestine Appeal. Then they launched a frontal attack. The signal was given by the Communist Party's Secretariat, which at the end of 1948 branded Zionism as a regressive movement. "Zionism," the Communist resolution read, "*all its branches* are a reactionary movement. . . . They have blocked the efforts at the integration of the Jewish masses into productive activities."

The CDE sprang into action. First the Communists eliminated the Zionists, including the extreme leftists, from the CDE, then

they elected in the persons of Bercu Feldman and Hersh Sherban-Leibovici, an "activist," i.e., brutally fierce, leadership. They invaded the Bucharest offices of the Zionist Federation, smashing the furniture and equipment. The Zionists flocked to the scene and offered resistance. Tragic scenes followed, with Jews fighting and maiming Jews. The struggle lasted for a week. Fnally, the inevitable happened. On December 23, 1948, the Zionist organizations suspended their activities. Soon the *Hachsharot* were liquidated and the 4,000 Chalutzim dispersed.

On the ruins of wrecked Jewish organizations the CDE became the sole Jewish organization in the country. The Federation of the Jewish Communities was tolerated. After the emigration of the erudite Chief Rabbi Alexander Shafran, a Communist, Dr. Moshe Rosen, was appointed as his successor and head of the Federation.

The destruction of the Zionist organizations did not end the movement. On the contrary, the economic factors of the new "era" and their political consequences intensified the desire for emigration to Israel.

Parallel with the tightening of the Communist control of the country, the economic measures became ever harsher. In the summer of 1947 the regime stabilized the currency and launched a drive for the mass expropriation of business and industrial enterprises. Through ceaseless chicaneries by the authorities, through jailing owners on trumped-up charges, through interference with normal business activities, a situation was created in which the only expedient was the relinquishment of the enterprise to the State. In this way many Jews lost their livelihood and the economic existence they had rebuilt after the war.

Under government ownership the output of factories fell, the production of the collectivized farms showed a sharp decline, and the misery of the population increased.

The Jew was made by the Rumanian population the scapegoat for all the misfortunes, especially after the rise of Ana Pauker to high leadership.

The Jewish masses, deprived of the means of making a living found themselves in an atmosphere of virulent hatred. Rumors of pogroms circulated and a mass flight across the borders started. Tragic incidents occurred: Jews were misled at the borders, abused, robbed by villains; nineteen persons, mostly Jews, were killed.

It took months of counter-propaganda on the part of the CDE and strong government measures to put an end to the flight. The number of those who had left the country by the end of 1947 was estimated at 37,000.

2. "Restratification" and Emigration

The blocking of emigration efforts did not solve the problems of the dispossessed and declassed.

On the contrary, with the expansion of the nationalization program (outright confiscation of enterprises and, in 1950, nationalization of housing), the situation became still worse.

According to estimates of well-informed Rumanian Jewish sources, the number of those eliminated from the processes of production amounted to 50,000. They became public charges, irrespective of their former economic standing.

As in other satellite countries, the Communist cure-all for this desperate situation was "restratification." However, little beyond words was ever done in this respect.

Bercu Feldman himself repeatedly admitted the complete failure of this plan: "as for vocational readjustment," he said at the CDE convention of 1949, "generally speaking, we have not found the best methods. . . ." In a Warsaw Yiddish broadcast of last September it was announced that 40,000 Jews had been "brought into production" in the past few years.

Emigration to Israel remained the last hope of the regime's victims. With the establishment of the Jewish State, sanguine hopes arose among the Jews. False rumors of impending large-scale emigration circulated and caused, on occasion, many thousands to travel to Bucharest for visas, only to have their hopes shattered.

In the first postwar years, the 20,000 Jewish refugees from abroad who had found refuge in Rumania during the war, left the country without hindrance. The mass flight of 1947-8 took tens of thousands of Rumanian Jews across the borders. Since then, emigration has taken a fitful course. Concerning this problem, according to the *Christian Science Monitor* of January 25, 1951, "there is a schism in the Communist Party. Some of them think it useful to dispose of the declassed elements. Others, like B. Feldman, are held to be concerned over the possible decline of their power should Rumanian Jewry decline in numbers."

The latter view seems to be corroborated by the fact that the CDE has consistently used extreme pressure to deter Jews from emigration. This committee was reported to have forged documents in the names of those who had applied for visas to Israel purporting to withdraw their applications.

3. Anti-Zionist Action

Instead of helping the uprooted strata and thus curing the root of the evil, the regime sought to suppress the symptoms of it and blamed the Zionist leaders for the emigration psychosis which the rulers themselves had created.

A violent anti-Zionist campaign was launched. Bercu Feldman opened it with inflammatory addresses at CDE conferences (1948-9). The remaining three Jewish weeklies teemed with scathing attacks upon the "Marshallized Israeli Government." They went to the length of publishing pictures of small Israeli children being sold as slaves to Israeli capitalists. They opened an anti-Israel exposition in Bucharest on July 22, 1950.

Bercu Feldman charged his "activists" with the task of unmasking the Zionist "agitators," i.e., denouncing them to the authorities.

There ensued a period of anti-Zionist terror.

On August 18, 1951, the blow fell when a large number of Zionist leaders were arrested. For two years no information on their whereabouts was given to their relatives. In August,

1953, they were brought to trial before a Bucharest military court, with Alexander Petrescu, a former Facist, as prosecutor. The charges included sabotage, espionage, high treason. The defendants, leading Revisionist Zionists, were sentenced to prison terms ranging from 10 to 16 years.

The second trial took place in November of the same year. Jacob Littman and Mrs. Shoshana (Susanne) Benevisti, former leaders of the Bucharest Section of the World Jewish Congress, drew prison sentences of 15 and 10 years, respectively. Their plea that their activities were perfectly legal at that time and that the Jewish Communist leaders (Bercu Feldman, H. Sherban-Leibovici, Dr. M. Rosen) were themselves delegates to the Second Plenary Assembly of the World Jewish Congress in Montreux was ignored.

Five months later, in March, 1954, 22 members of the Hashomer Hatzair were tried. Their leader, Abir Mark, in dignified words, denied any guilt. He and seven others were sentenced to 20 years in prison. The rest received lighter sentences.

New arrests and trials followed in May and June, 1954. A.L. Zissu, the aged former national president of the Zionist Organization, and his successor Mishi Benevisti were sentenced to life imprisonment. Jean Cohen, Mrs. Mella Jancu, former president of the OSE, and Matzi Moscovici were sentenced to 20 years in prison. Employees of the Israel legation, including its watchman (Gerder), were condemned to long jail terms.

In order to discredit the Zionist leaders, the Rumanian Government made appeals to the Rumanian Jews residing in Israel to return to the country. In addition to free passage, it promised a subsidy of about $200 to each who returned. Of the considerably more than 100,000 Rumanian Jews in Israel, 288 succumbed to the lure. After their arrival they were compelled to appear as prosecution witnesses at the trials. Also, they had to broadcast over the radio disparaging reports on Israel. One of these unfortunates was reported to have committed suicide in order to avoid treachery.

The long series of miscarriages of justice aroused public

opinion in the free world. A storm of protests arose. Moshe Sharett, the Israeli Premier, in the Knesset; President Eisenhower, in his letter to the American Jewish Congress; Anthony Nutting, Under-secretary for Foreign Affairs, in the British Parliament, denounced in strong terms these violations of human rights. On the same ground the World Jewish Congress, in a memorandum to the United Nations Economic and Social Council, sought to block Rumania's admission to UNESCO. On May 23, 1954, dozens of former Rumanian Jews in Israel began a hunger strike in protest against the Rumanian acts of iniquity. The large Jewish organizations held mass meetings of protest throughout the world against Rumania's action.

These moves did not remain without effect. At first, a whitewash campaign was launched. The CDE, at a mass meeting in Bucharest (May 23, 1954), sought to justify the trials by making violent attacks on the "Fascist regime of Israel." In July, 1954, the Communist Chief Rabbi addressed an appeal to the Jews abroad to disregard "the slanderous propaganda against his country" and gave an account of a flourishing Jewish life with a vast number of institutions in Rumania.

Then some gestures of moderation were shown by the Rumanian Government. The Bucharest *Adevarul* of June 4, 1954, reported the creation of a committee for the purpose of applying a recent amnesty decree to the release of those whose sentences were under 4 years or who had already served a portion of their sentence so that its remaining part was less than four years.

At the beginning of July, 1954, six Jewish leaders were released while Jean Littman and Mrs. S. Benevisti were granted a retrial. The same month the release of other Jewish leaders was reported, as was the release of 19 Zionists in August; it was said, however, that about 200 were still in jail.

In March, 1955, the Supreme Court quashed the sentences imposed on 60 Rumanian Zionists in the preceding year and ordered a retrial.

In July, 1955, the Rumanian authorities released Mark Abir, the leftwing Zionist youth leader who, as mentioned above, was

arrested in 1949, tried in 1954, and sentenced to 20 years imprisonment on the charge of having organized illegal emigration to Israel. On retrial the sentence was reduced to four years.

In August, 1955, the Rumanian authorities announced that, following an appeal to the Supreme Court, 31 Zionist leaders had been released, either by acquittal or reduction of sentences. However, according to the *Viata Noastra* of Tel Aviv, A.L. Zissu, Mishi Benvenisti, Jean Cohen, as well as the group of Revisionists headed by Edgar Kammer, were still in jail, despite earlier reports of the release of Benvenisti and Cohen. Only later were they freed.

It was reported that the released Zionists would be permitted to emigrate to Israel.

4. Deportations

The trials of the Zionist leaders struck terror in the hearts of the country's Jews. The charges preferred were based on Zionist activities, which had been branded as subversive and treasonable. The legality of these activities at the time of their commission did not impress the courts. Thus, any Jew who had attended Zionist meetings, contributed money to the cause, or even kept a National Fund coin box in his house, became a potential defendant.

Parallel with these procedures, deportations further darkened the situation. Members of the former bourgeoisie, big and petty, were turned out of their homes and resettled, minus their possessions, in rural communities. True to the policy of concealment, no information about their whereabouts was forthcoming.

A considerable segment of the Jewish population was affected, although exact figures are not available. Having already been deprived of their businesses and property, they were now robbed of their household goods. No reliable details have come through concerning their fate. But it is certain that they live like outcasts wherever they are.

These deportations took place throughout 1952-3. The world-wide protests by governments and organizations aroused by simultaneous deportations in Hungary appear to have impressed the Rumanian Government. Since then, no new deportations have been reported.

5. Religious and Cultural Life

In Rumania the rabbinate was held in high esteem, and congregational life pulsated vigorously. Therefore the Communist regime sought both to undermine the congregations and to deprive the members of spiritual leadership.

They undermined the financial basis of the congregations. The Law on Religious Cults (August 23, 1948) separated Church and State. Thereafter congregations were deprived of their right to levy taxes on the members. The following year a Statute for the Organization of the Mosaic Faith decreed the centralization of the Jewish congregations on the local as well as on the national level. Under it only one congregation can exist in one city or town. If there be more, even of various shades, Orthodox, Reform, they must merge. The individual congregations of the country must be organized into one national federation. Thus strict unity has been created instead of the multiple warring factions of previous years. However, this unity is essentially a straightjacket, serving exclusively the interests of the regime. The local and national organizations are headed by diehard Communists through whom the Government has an iron grip on these organizations.

The emigration of rabbis was permitted in pursuance of the policy of depriving the masses of their spiritual leaders. A large number of the rabbis left the country (Dr. Alex Shafran, the Chief Rabbi; Rabbi Josef Adler, the leader of Transylvanian Jewry, etc.) so that their number apparently dwindled to 32 or 37. (Thirty-two rabbis signed the Passover appeal of 1951, and the statement of June, 1954, regarding the trials of Zionist leaders in Rumania.)

The Hebrew and Yiddish schools were nationalized, staffed with Communist teachers, and filled with the Communist spirit, while IKUF (Yiddisher Kulturfarband) with its 34 branches was forced to abandon its own rich cultural program and become a mere instrument of Communist propaganda.

One Rumanian-language Jewish weekly is permitted to appear, the *Viata Nova* ("New Life").

To put the finishing touch to its work of destruction of Jewish communal life, the regime nationalized the imposing network of Jewish charitable institutions, most of them rebuilt with the aid of American Jewish organizations.

"All these institutions," said Hersh Sherban-Leibovici, "have become government institutions and are open to the Jewish population as well as . . . to all coinhabitant nationalities."

Finally, all offices of the foreign Jewish organizations were ordered closed, among them those of the American Jewish Joint Distribution Committee, which had disbursed about $3,600,000 annually in that country.

D. The Present Posture

1. The Economic Situation

The youth trained during the last decade, as well as craftsmen and laborers, are gainfully employed. The same is true also of certain professional categories (physicians, engineers, and a number of lawyers). There are a number of Jews in the civil service. The proportion of the declassed and pauperized cannot be ascertained with accuracy, but must be presumed to be considerable.

The lot of those who earn a living is generally far from comfortable. The cost of living is exceedingly high in Rumania, the purchasing power of the wages paid is low. It is hard for a wage earner to make ends meet.

The most recent emigrants from Rumania to pass through Vienna supplied the following data on the living standards in the

country: one Austrian schilling has (in Vienna) the same purchasing power as a leu in Rumania, but the average wage in Austria is 1,500 schillings and in Rumania 500 lei.

On the whole, there seem to be two economic groups: one that makes a meager living, the other the declassed. The wealthy class has disappeared. Highly placed bureaucrats may be the only exceptions. But they, as a rule, have severed relations with Jewry and Judaism.

2. Religious Affairs

The congregations are in ruins. Their finances were based on the prerogative of levying taxes on the members and on the obligation of every Jew to join the local congregation as a member. The abolition of these rights by the Law on Religious Cults was a blow inconceivable to those who live in countries with a different historical evolution. Jewish readiness to make voluntary contributions would have overcome these difficulties but for the revolutionary change in the members' economic circumstances. With the favorably situated strata gone, a considerable part of the Jews pauperized, the wage earners struggling to meet the bare necessities, there is no financial capability to maintain a congregation. In the anti-religious atmosphere, willingness to join a religious organization is on the wane. Clearly, the congregations must, if they have not already done so, collapse.

This accounts for the disastrously small number of rabbis. Their number is bound to dwindle. In such conditions and atmosphere, youth will not and cannot choose the rabbinical calling. Religious life is heading for extinction despite official statements to the contrary: Bercu Feldman told Maitre Andre Blumel (President of the French Zionist Federation) in July, 1955, that there still were in Rumania 500 synagogues or *shtieblach* (small chapels) open, 70 religious communities, a yeshiva with 12 (!) students, and that matzoth and kosher wine were available for Passover. It is worth noting that, according to information released in July, 1954, by the Rumanian Legation in London, there were 126 Jewish communities, 32 Talmud Torahs,

and 69 mikvot (ritual baths), and religious services were held daily in temples and synagogues of which Bucharest was said to have 50, Jassy 75, and Butosani 45.

3. Organizational and Cultural Life

With the liquidation of all cultural, Zionist, and charitable organizations, two Communist-led organizations have survived: the Federation of the Jewish Congregations, presided over by the Communist Chief Rabbi, the significance of which is dwindling with the decline of the congregations, and the CDE. Not even in its heyday were the branches of CDE active, as attested by the endless "criticisms and self-criticisms" published in the now defunct *Unirea*. Recently, according to reports by recent arrivals from Rumania, the CDE was disbanded, and the Association of Religious Communities replaced in a sense the CDE. Bercu Feldman was transferred to the office of the Prime Minister. The boss on the Jewish scene is reportedly Yoshka Chischinewsky, who is decribed in Rumanian papers as the "vice-president of the Ministry" and Communist Party big-shot. (Maitre Blumel reported, on the other hand, that Feldman is still believed to be in charge of Jewish affairs in Rumania.)

IKUF and the two Yiddish theatres are mostly Jewish in language only, though they reflect some Jewish activity. Essentialy they are channels for Communist propaganda. Jewish cultural and organizational activities have been rendered impossible in Rumania.

The schools are nationalized, the youth reared in the Communist spirit in complete ignorance of their Jewish heritage, estrangement from and hostility not only toward Judaism but toward their own parents being the goal envisaged. According to Bercu Feldman, some 5,000 Jewish children are taught Yiddish, either in all-Jewish schools or in general schools where Yiddish is added to the curriculum. A state publishing house brings out Yiddish books, and a new Yiddish quarterly is about to make its appearance.

E. Emigration From Rumania

Although no reliable statistics are available, it is safe to say that about 150,000 Rumanian Jews emigrated during the postwar decade. Rumania did not permit indiscriminate emigration to Israel (as did Bulgaria or Czechoslovakia). For the most part, only selected groups were permitted to emigrate. Nonetheless, up to 1,000 persons per shipload were permitted for a time, so that, according to official Israeli statistics, the total number of immigrants of Rumanian origin to Israel since the establishment of the Jewish State was 121,818. The distribution by the various years was as follows: 17,678, from May 15 to December 31, 1948; 13,596 in 1949; 46,430 in 1950. There was also considerable emigration in 1951 until September: according to the same Israel sources, 40,208 Jews of Rumanian origin immigrated during that year. Since there were comparatively few Rumanian Jews in DP camps, the bulk must have come directly from Rumania. After October, 1951, the number of exit permits steadily diminished, and after February, 1952, emigration stopped for all practical purposes. Nonetheless, there were 3,627 such immigrants in 1952, 180 in 1953, and 99 in 1954. Only very recently (in May, 1955) did the authorities begin to accept applications again, and in July, 5 exit permits, the first in a long time, were granted, resulting in a small number of subsequent arrivals in Israel. It is, however, too early to decide whether extensive emigration will be resumed in the near future, although this gesture created a veritable fever of excitement in the Jewish quarters of Bucharest and, according to reports, the Rumanian Minister of Foreign Affairs sent word to Israel (on the occasion of the induction of a new Minister to Israel) that Rumania accepted the Israeli point of view that families should be reunited by emigration to Israel: parents wishing to join children and vice versa should be permitted to emigrate; spouses should also be united. Other relatives were, however, to be excluded from the reunion. It is also reported that the Israel Government is in communication with a Rumanian

Transport Company regarding the transportation of new emigrants from Constanza to Haifa. On the other hand, there are 200 Rumanian Jews who will soon return from Israel to Rumania.

F. The Present Number of Jews

Taking into consideration that there were about 428,000 Jews in Rumania after liberation; that the 20,000 refugees who were included in this total have left Rumania; that about 37,000 left during the flight in 1947; that since 1948 about 122,000 have emigrated to Israel, and that smaller groups have left for other countries, it must be assumed that there are at present about 220,000 to 240,000 Jews in Rumania—one of the largest Jewish communities in Europe today.

HUNGARY

A. Introductory

Before the First World War nearly one million Jews lived among the approximately twenty million inhabitants of Hungary.

After the First World War, Hungary was dismembered. With the loss of Slovakia, Transylvania, Croatia, and Slavonia, her territory was reduced to one-fourth of its former size. Rump Hungary had 473,310 Jews among her 7,980,143 inhabitants, according to the census of 1920.

During the Hitler era Hungary retrieved some of her lost territories. On November 2, 1938, the German-Italian Arbitration restored to Hungary parts of Slovakia and two years later a similar arbitration returned Upper Transylvania to her. The number of Jews in this enlarged Hungary was 725,007, according to the 1941 census (not counting about 100,000 Christians of Jewish descent).

After the conclusion of the Second World War, Hungary was deprived of these territorial gains and reduced to her 1918 area.

The following table will illustrate these changes:

Area	*Jewish Population*	
	Year	*Number*
Historical Hungary (before 1918)	1918	938,458
Rump Hungary (1918—1939)	1920	473,340
Enlarged Hungary (1939—1945)	1941	725,007
Postwar Hungary (1945—)	1946	143,000

Beginning with 1938 anti-Jewish measures of an economic nature were introduced in Hungary, while deportations to Poland commenced in 1941. The first victims were foreign Jews: 18,500 were deported to Poland. In October, 1942, compulsory labor service for Jews was introduced, and within two years, about 60,000 Hungarian Jews were sent to work behind the Axis battle lines; few of them returned. Even worse was the plight of the Jews in the annexed territories: they were deported and massacred soon after annexation. With the German occupation of Hungary on March 21, 1944, harsher anti-Jewish measures were introduced. By the middle of August the Jews in the provinces were placed in ghettos; in Budapest, the Jews were squeezed into what was known as "yellow" houses. In the spring, 400 000 Jews were shipped to Auschwitz, Mauthausen, and other extermination camps. The deportations were suspended on July 5, 1944, but when on October 15, 1944, the Regent announced his break with the Axis, he was forced to resign and a reign of terror was launched against the Jews: they were massacred in the streets, in the "yellow" houses, shot to death or thrown into the river. In November, about 100,000 Jews were driven afoot from Budapest to Austria, of whom 25,000 perished on the way. In Budapest a ghetto was set up for 50,000 Jews. The remaining Jews were saved by the occupation of Hungary by the Russians. On January 20, 1945, a provisional government was formed and on April 6, the whole country was liberated.

The postwar history of the Hungarian Jews can be divided into three periods. The first lasted from 1945 till 1948, when it was still hoped that the country would retain a democartic system. The second period comprised the years from 1948 till Stalin's death (March, 1953), marked by Communization of the country, climaxing in the mass evacuation from the cities of the bourgeois elements and moves in the direction of anti-Semitism; the third period started with Stalin's death in 1953 and has been marked by the abandoning of the anti-Jewish policies and by rapidly changing economic trends.

B. The Period of Reconstruction (1945-1948)

1. The Demographic Situation

In the provincial towns and cities practically no Jews were left at the end of the war. As said, they had been deported by the Hungarian Fascists to Auschwitz or other death camps. In Budapest about 60,000 were found in the ghetto and 20,000—25,000 in the various "protected houses" (Swedish, Swiss, etc.), neutral legations, and in hiding. In the provinces about 25,000 remained alive.

Some 40,000 Hungarian Jews survived the labor battalions and the German concentration camps. Soon after V-E Day they began to return to Hungary. It took months before all who desired it were brought home. The situation they found was appalling. In many places only one of every ten survived. In the provincial cities and towns nearby 60 per cent of the families were disrupted, with the husband or the wife missing, never to return. Children were hardly to be seen: of the 72,000 Jewish children within Hungary's present borders, 56,000 had been killed. In the "Enlarged Hungary," 139,000 children had been murdered. The total number of Jewish survivors in "Enlarged Hungary" was 260,000. Within the present area of Hungary, slightly over 400,000 professing Jews had lived before the Second World War, of whom about 150,000 survived. The number of Jews in Hungary in 1945 was estimated at approximately 190,000 (apparently including non-professing Jews) according to the Statistical Report of the Budapest Branch of the World Jewish Congress, published in 1946, but the 1946 census showed a total of 143,624 professing Jews only.

As a result of the exterminations, the age structure of Hungarian Jewry became extremely unfavorable: In 1950, more than 25 per cent of all Jews in Budapest were over 60 years old, and the age median was 46.0 as against 30.5 in 1920. There were 26 per cent more women than men in the marriageable age; almost one-half of the children were orphans.

2. Reconstruction of Family Life

The liberation opened wide vistas for the surviving remnants of Hungarian Jewry. The general belief was that a new era of democracy and liberalism had begun.

Animated by hopes of a brighter future, the Jews set to work to rebuild their shattered lives. Their first effort was to establish normal family life. A wave of marriages ensued. Thus, on a single day in the diminished community of Kaposvar, 16 couples were married; on one Sunday (in May, 1946) 100 weddings took place in Budapest. The number of births rose rapidly; in 1946, their number soared to 2,188, exceeding, for the first time since the Nazi catastrophe, the number of deaths.

3. Religious and Cultural Revival

The same revival could be observed in the religious and cultural life of Hungarian Jewry. All pre-war national organizations (the Central Bureau of the Orthodox Jews; that of the Reform Jews; the various Zionist organizations) reopened their offices. Of the former 472 Jewish congregations, 266 resumed their activities. The larger congregations filled the places of their martyred rabbis. The Budapest Rabbinical Seminary trained and ordained rabbis (seven in 1946 and nine in 1947). However, as a result of the terrible loss of life, many of the smaller congregations went out of existence: 93 of them were liquidated in the first postwar year because they had lost all their members. Their synagogues and cemeteries passed into the possession of the respective religious National Bureaus (the supreme bodies of the religious groupings).

Simultaneously, a rich cultural life developed in the country. A galaxy of new writers emerged. Dozens of memoirs were published. Jenoe Levai wrote his fine monograph on the Fascist regime in three volumes. The Budapest Kehillah established a Jewish Free University and a Music School. The National Jewish Museum was reestablished; 23 of the former 147 elementary

schools, 3 so-called civic schools, and 5 high schools, all congregational institutions, were reopened.

The great catastrophe that had befallen the country's Jewry dominated the scene for a long time. Monuments to the memory of the 550,000 martyrs were erected in almost all the larger centers (Budapest, Miskolc, Gyor, Pecs, etc.). In some cases, the dedication of these monuments assumed the character of national events. Many of the victims who had been murdered in West Hungary were exhumed and reinterred in the capital. The country is dotted with such monuments, reminders of the darkest age in history.

4. Economic Rehabilitation

After the liberation on April 6, 1945, the economic situation was tragic. The economy was disrupted. Forty per cent of the country's industry was in ruins. The transportation system was paralyzed. Most of the railroad rolling stock had been removed to Germany or wrecked by bombing.

The economic situation of the Jews was even more tragic. The homes and stores of the returning Jews were empty. The financial losses of the Hungarian Jews were estimated in a joint memorandum of the national Jewish organizations at no less than one billion dollars.

American Jewry rushed help to these impoverished victims on an unprecedented scale. The American Joint Distribution Committee organized and subsidized a network of free kitchens, orphanages, homes for the aged, hospitals, cultural organizations. During the first years it spent $30,000,000.

The Hungarian Government enacted a number of decrees and laws to regulate the vital problems of restitution. These measures were far from satisfactory from the Jewish point of view: they were involved; they favored the Gentile user or tenant who had taken possession of the Jewish property; in cases of litigation, they imposed heavy daily fees for the arbitrators. The Jewish organizations voiced their criticism in memoranda and at conventions. With all their shortcomings, however, these

laws provided a measure of economic rehabilitation for the Jews. Property in the form of buildings was almost entirely recovered—due to the short span of the Nazi regime there had been no time for the transfer of Jewish properties, and their ownership remained clear. Civil servants were reinstated in their positions. State licensees recovered their rights. The restoration of business premises was a slow process. The sorest point, however, was that the Jews did not get back their landed estates confiscated by the Fascists. Decidedly, they now lost contact with the soil.

The runaway inflation after the war affected the Jews in two ways. The rapid decline of the currency produced a feverish desire to purchase goods and thus get rid of the depreciating banknotes. This created an opportunity to expand production. On the other hand, the wage earners suffered exceedingly through the constant decrease of the real value of their earnings. Most deplorable, however, was the situation of the large number of invalids, aged persons, widows, and others who were unable to do any work.

5. Prosecution of War Criminals

Hungary was one of the countries that meted out condign punishment to the war criminals. People's Courts were set up and the concepts of war crimes and crimes against the people were clearly defined. Those guilty were brought to justice. Almost all Cabinet members of the Fascist governments were apprehended and tried. The bloodthirsty L. Endre, responsible for the deportation to Auschwitz of 400,000 Jews within six weeks; his henchman, L. Baky; the diabolic Bela Imredy, former premier and director of the National Bank; the half-insane sadistic Ferenc Szalasi, the "Leader of the People" after Regent N. Horthy's overthrow, and the members of his Cabinet—all these answered with their lives for their monstrous crimes. They were shot dead or hanged amidst stormy demonstrations.

Within two years, 136 criminals were executed while 15,178 penalties of varying degrees of severity were imposed on lesser offenders.

6. Anti-Semitism

However, the harsh punishments meted out to war criminals did not serve as a deterrent to anti-Semitism. The Hungarian Government by means of Act VIII, 1946, declared anti-Semitic agitation a criminal offense; in a specific law (Act XXV, 1946) it offered "moral satisfaction" to Hungarian Jewry for the horrors it had been subjected to; yet the atmosphere grew ever more tense.

Many factors combined to produce this new wave of Jew-hatred. First, there was the effect of years of Nazi propaganda in the press, on the radio, in speeches, and in books. Second, there was the disaffection of those who had been in possession of Jewish property which they now had to surrender. Third, the fact that a number of Jews were employed by the police (because they were a "reliable" element) and a number of Jews were among judges of the People's Courts (for the same reason) contributed to the anti-Jewish agitation. The fact that some of the leaders of the Communist Party were of Jewish origin (Matjas Rakosi, E. Geroe, Joseph Revai, Zoltan Vas, and others) was also a source of anti-Semitism.

An additional factor in the Jewish situation was stated in the testimony before the U.S. Select Committee on Communist Aggression (Fifth Report of the Hearings before the Subcommittee on Hungary). There Zoltan Pfeiffer, Hungarian Undersecretary of Justice in 1946, testified as follows:

> In the summer of 1946, Communist-incited crowds staged a pogrom at Kunmadaras. It may sound unusual that the Communist Party should have taken part in open anti-Semitic propaganda. In Hungary the Communist Party had very few adherents. They recruited members where they could, and thus many former Nazis gained immunity for themselves by joining.
>
> This was so openly done that Communist Party organizers made the rounds of the internment camps, promising immediate freedom, full immunity, and a career to those who joined up and solemnly pledged blind obedience.

In the same testimony it was stated that in August, 1946, Laszlo Piros (the organizational secretary of the Communist Party), acting upon Russia's slogan, "To the gallows with the black marketeers!" organized a march of 200 on Miskolc. The marchers

> beat to death a Jewish miller, and nearly killed many others. The pogrom threw a scare into the Communists. Communist Minister of the Interior Laszlo Rajk arrested the culprits, but not the instigators.
>
> Next day Piros and his associate, Ferenc Dusek, again led a demonstration. They freed the culprits and beat up the Jewish officers of the police.
>
> The perpetrators and the instigators of the Miskolc pogrom did not come before the courts, because it turned out that the pogrom was prepared and executed by Communist Party functionaries.

In the early stage of the Communist activities, Communism and anti-Semitism were not incompatible in Hungary. On March 15, 1946, the leader of the Communist Peasant Party, Joseph Darvas, who subsequently became a member of the Communist government, published an editorial warning the Jews not to try to capitalize on their sufferings, "otherwise the Hungarian nation would eject them." His party chieftains followed suit. Other political writers struck inciting notes in their books (e.g., M. Wesselenyi, *The Fall of the Third Reich;* J. Szecsi, *The People Left Here*).

7. Reaction of Jewry; Zionism

The result of this situation was that the bulk of the Hungarian Jews soon became anxious to leave the country.

According to the joint memorandum of the Hungarian Jewish organizations of March 1946, 63,500 Jews intended to emigrate to Palestine and 45,000 to other countries. All in all, 108,500 Jews were desirous to emigrate. In this atmosphere the Zionist movement grew by leaps and bounds. Early in 1946, there existed the following numbers of Hachshara groups: Hashomer Hatzair, 11; B'nai Akiba, 10; Dror Habonim, 8; Hanoar Hatzioni, 6; Gordonia, 5. The total number of Chalutzim exceeded 2,000.

The movement to leave the country was so manifest that a Hungarian Catholic columnist, Gyorgy Parragi, appealed to the Hungarian Jews to abandon their emigration plans and to participate in the reconstruction of the country.

The answers he received throw a sharp light on the frame of mind of the Jews.

"The Hungarians murdered us, robbed us, degraded us to the level of animals," one wrote. "You have no right to call us deserters, because you know that we are hated more than ever."

"I cannot live together with the unknown murderers of my parents, children, and wife," replied another.

"I shall go away not from cowardice," said a third letter, "but from being disgusted with certain people who have not changed their political color. Democracy here is still in its infancy and I have no time to wait until it grows up."

The memories of the past, the revulsion against living in the midst of those who had shed the blood of their loved ones, and the rabid anti-Semitism prevalent in the country were the chief causes of a veritable emigration fever among the Jews only one year after their return from deportation or release from the ghettos.

C. The Period of Decline

1. Gleichschaltung (1948-1953)

The seizure of power by the Communist Party in 1948 and the sovietization of the country which followed, wrought tremendous changes on the general as well as on the Jewish scene.

Jewish cultural life soon became *gleichgeschaltet*. All Jewish papers and periodicals were discontinued except for one, *Uj-Elet* ("New Life"). This paper, which had reflected the life and activities of a versatile Jewry, became monotonous and dedicated in the main to the glorification of Soviet-Hungary's and Soviet-Russia's leaders and to attacks on the "Western Imperialists." Jewish literary production came to a sudden halt. Scholars like

Dr. Samuel Lowinger, the president of the Budapest Rabbinical Seminary; leading rabbis like Dr. F. Hevesi, the Chief Rabbi of Budapest, and his successor, Dr. F. Hershkovits, as well as dozens of others, emigrated.

Gone were the Jewish meetings and conventions with their clashes of opinions and party struggles. They were convoked only to vote "enthusiastically" for resolutions submitted by the new "leaders."

2. Liquidation of Jewish Cultural and Organizational Life

The law on the nationalization of schools was enacted in June, 1948. It provided for the taking over by the Government of all parochial schools. The Catholic Church offered stiff resistance culminating in a riot at the town of Pocspetri, where a policeman was killed. Under courtmartial proceedings, the killer was executed within 48 hours, while the village priest, his accomplice, was sentenced to life imprisonment. The Protestant churches yielded and signed an agreement with the Government. The Jews followed suit. In this agreement the Jewish denomination took cognizance of the fact that the Hungarian Government had decided to take over non-governmental schools. The rabbinical schools and Talmud Torahs, however, were excepted; also, as a token of the Government's appreciation of the merits of the Jewish denomination, one Budapest Jewish high school was not nationalized. Yet, in 1949, this high school, as well as the Jewish Teachers' College and the ORT schools, were closed by the Government. In 1950, IMIT (Jewish Literary Society) and OMIKE (Jewish Cultural Association), after decades of publishing valuable volumes on Jewish literature and lore, were disbanded. Their function was officially transferred to the Cultural Department of the Budapest Congregation, of whose activities very little, if anything, is known.

The new Hungarian Constitution of August 20, 1949, proclaimed the separation of Church and State ("a free Church in a free State" being the slogan). As a result, the Jewish congregations were deprived of their right to levy taxes on their members

and to collect them, if necessary, with the aid of the authorities. Also, they lost any title to a State subsidy. Previously, the Government had guaranteed a minimum salary to rabbis (as to other ministers of religion); if their congregations were unable to pay it, the Government was bound to make up the difference. These rights were deemed vital for the financial security of the religious organizations.

In order to cushion the transition, the Hungarian Government on December 10, 1948, concluded an agreement with the representatives of the Jewish National Bureaus, providing for a temporary subsidy, to be reduced at the end of every fifth year by 25 per cent. After 1968, no State subsidy will be given.

The centralization of Jewish religious organizations took place in 1950. For 83 years Hungarian Jewry had been divided into three wings: Orthodox, Reform (Neolog), and Statusquo (middle-of-the-road), which built up strong local and national organizations and developed their own literature. Under governmental pressure, these groups liquidated their particular organizations and merged.

February 20, 1950, was the opening of the convention at which the unification of all Hungarian Jewish organizations was proclaimed. The Minister of Religious Affairs opened the convention of 170 delegates, which lasted 4 days. The new statutes were unanimously adopted. Their highlights are as follows: The congregations discard their designations (Orthodox, Neolog, or Statusquo). In one city or town only one congregation can exist. The individual congregations are to be grouped in districts, of which six are to be organized. The supreme authority is to be the National Bureau of the Hungarian Jews. The officers of the National Bureau are to consist of a President, Vice-Presidents, Executive Council, and Rabbinical Council. Lajos Stoeckler, the president of the Budapest Jewish Congregation, was elected National President.

The nationalization of schools, as well as the separation of the Church and State, had a direct bearing on the religious education of the growing generation. Traditionally, the curricula

of public elementary and high schools had included religious instruction. Thus, every child received at least a modicum of knowledge of his spiritual heritage. As a result of the changed situation, religious instruction was excluded from the schools' curricula. But the parents were entitled to request of the school authorities that religious instruction be provided to their children. In the first year the demand for such instruction was heavy: of about 4,500 school children, some 2,800 were reported to have made it. The Government, however, has provided no facilities for religious instruction. The congregations conduct classes for religious instruction. Obviously, these are no effective substitutes for Jewish education. Clearly, a considerable number of Jewish children grow up in utter ignorance as far as Judaism is concerned.

The large Jewish Hospital in Budapest, reequipped at an enormous expense by the American Joint Distribution Committee, was nationalized. According to Budapest sources, a small hospital with 80 beds has been reserved for Jews clinging to a kosher diet.

3. Structural Changes in Economic Life

Under the Nationalization Law (Act XXV, 1948) of May 11, 1948, all plants, factories, and mines employing 100 or more laborers were nationalized. The owners were to be compensated. A special law was to prescribe the amount of compensation, but no such law is known to have been enacted so far. It was nationalization without compensation. The nationalization decree of December 28, 1949, resulted in the seizure of all enterprises employing 10 or more, in some cases 5, persons.

In 1950, the privately owned pharmacies, in 1951, the still privately owned mills, and in 1952, the privately owned apartment houses and a large category of homes, were nationalized. Also, the privately owned cinemas were confiscated, the film industry and film imports being taken over by the Government, and the theatres were nationalized.

The declaration of principles in 1949 of the Workers' Party included the demand for the elimination of the middlemen in

order to reduce the wide margin between the cost price and selling price. Artisans were informed that the days of small-scale individualistic production were gone and that by collective methods they would achieve much more for their own benefit than by operating singly.

Before they realized it, the Hungarian Jews saw almost all their traditional means of livelihood slip from their hands.

For a while small factories and retail shops had to compete with State-owned establishments, but in the fall of 1949 most of them were taken over by the State. After the nationalization, the former owners were or were not employed in the enterprise. The extent to which Jews suffered through these measures may be judged from the following figures: of 1,721 owners of retail stores nationalized by December 12, 1949, 1,504 were Jewish.

As a result, the physical survival of the expropriated masses became a grave problem. The Communist cure-all for it was: economic integration or restratification. At the beginning of 1949, MIZRAT, an organization for vocational retraining and for organizing cooperatives, was established. Its president, Dr. I. Kisfalvy, was far from optimistic. The vocational readjustment of the Hungarian Jews, he said, was fraught with great difficulties. The Jews of Hungary were overage—more than half of them were over 46 years old. Men in the higher age-brackets were hard to retrain. The situation was aggravated, he said, by the fact that women outnumbered men: in the higher age-brackets, their number was almost double that of men (1,784 to 1,000 men). The conclusion was that a considerable segment of this Jewry was beyond help.

The American Joint Distribution Committee made great efforts to help those affected. In the space of a few months, it gave 9,200,000 forints (approximately $900,000) to help individual firms and 2,485,000 forints (approximately $240,000) for the establishment of cooperatives. In these cooperatives, 1,000 persons found employment. This, however, was no solution for the vast and tragic employment problem of the Jewish masses.

4. Emigration

By 1949 it had become clear to a large segment of Hungarian Jews that their only salvation lay in emigration. The number of those who were desirous to leave the country at that time was estimated at 50,000.

At that time it seemed that Hungary would follow the liberal emigration policies of Bulgaria and Czechoslovakia. But within a few weeks there was a change in the Hungarian attitude. Hungary was veering toward the negative attitude adopted by the Rumanian Government and stopped emigration. The Government closed the offices of the Keren Kayemet and Keren Hayesod in Budapest and on March 24, 1949, the Zionist organization "voluntarily" disbanded. The motivation was that "the establishment of the Jewish State rendered their activities superfluous."

Their hopes for legal emigration frustrated, large groups decided to leave the country illegally. Crossing the Slovakian border, some 2,000 Jews succeeded in reaching Vienna via Bratislava by the beginning of May, 1949. A week later, the number of refugees rose to 3,000.

The Hungarian Government took drastic steps to halt this mass exodus. It prevailed on Czechoslovakia and the Russian forces in Austria to turn the emigrants back from the borders. Hungary's western boundary became hermetically sealed. According to photographs, a barricade of barbed wire five feet high was erected all along the 125 miles of frontier with watchtowers and searchlights at frequent intervals.

When in the middle of July, 1949, Jewish refugees were arrested by the Czechoslovak authorities, this mass emigration movement came to an end. Subsequently, the Hungarian Government decided to permit the emigration of 3,000 persons to Israel. About 1,000 were to be persons whose near relatives had legally emigrated to Israel, the rest had to be persons over 55 years of age. In October, 1950, a ban was again put on emigration, but small-scale emigration was later resumed. In August, 1952, 112 Jews arrived

in Haifa, the last group of the 3,000 who had received permission to leave the country for Israel.

The urge to emigrate to Israel continued strong. According to Joshua Shai, director of the Israel Immigration Department, 50 per cent of the remaining Hungarian Jews had registered for emigration. In August, 1952, it was reported that 70,000 of the 100,000 Jews in Hungary had expressed a desire to emigrate to Israel.

According to Israel data, a total of 13,392 Hungarian Jews, coming either directly from Hungary or from DP camps, immigrated into Israel between May, 1948, and September, 1951. Dana Adam Schmidt estimated in *The New York Times* of March 26, 1950, the number of illegal emigrants at 20,000.

5. Evictions and Deportations

In 1951, the Government of Hungary, for reasons of its own, decided to evict and deport a part of the population.

On May 22, 1951, Steven Kovacs, Chairman of the Presidential Council of Budapest, made the following annonucement:

> The enemy must be liquidated . . . class-enemies and unreliable elements must be kept occupied in socialized jobs under supervision. . . . We want to choose their place of work. . . .

On the day preceding this announcement the mass evictions commenced. The London *Economist* of August 4, 1951, gave the following account:

> On the night of May 20–21, the Budapest secret police suddenly rounded up some hundreds of persons. Whole families were taken at a time and, after being given a few hours to pack immediate necessaries, were taken by train to Debrecen. Here the children were separated from their families, the adults were loaded on to truks provided with authorization to enter the prohibited zone on the frontier with the Soviet Union and driven north-eastward. Nothing has since been heard of them.
>
> This proved to be only the first step in a process of mass

> deportation. A second convoy was sent off on May 23 and since then convoys have been leaving Budapest three times weekly. . . . A similar operation has been going on in the other larger towns of Hungary. It even appears that the net has been cast over the small towns and remote country districts. They are rounded up and liquidated by a process of slow extinction. This process is proving quick in many cases, for many persons served with expulsion orders have committed suicide and the conditions under which the deportees are kept result in an exceedingly high death rate.
>
> The procedure is always the same, except in detail. The police arrive at night, with a notice of expulsion. The expellees are given a short period—in the most favorable case 24 hours—to pack a quantity of effects which again varies from some hundredweight to a few pounds. So far as it is known, with the exception of the first batch, the deportees have, at least for the present, been kept in Hungary.

Jews represented a not inconsiderable portion of the evictees. According to reliable sources, the total number of evicted Jews was about 3,000.

When the news of these measures became known abroad, the Hungarian Government made efforts to minimize them. On June 12, 1951, the Budapest radio in an English broadcast tried to refute the reports that "tens of thousands are deported from Budapest to isolation camps." Only a few dozen aristocrats, former generals and bankers had been evicted, averred the broadcast, and enumerated the names of those affected.

However, according to the *New York Herald Tribune* of July 28, 1951, 42,000 persons had been evicted from Budapest by mid-June, while reports from Vienna put the number of evictees by the end of July, 1951, at 65,000.

At meetings and conventions of organizations, in the newspapers, in parliaments, as well as at sessions of the United Nations, violent protests and stern warnings were addressed to the Hungarian Government. Representatives of the Governments of the United States, Great Britain, and France joined in the protests.

These pronouncements seem to have impressed the Hungarian

Government. By the middle of August the deportations had been halted.

In November, however, and intermittently throughout 1952, fresh evictions were reported. An Associated Press dispatch, datelined Vienna, August 29, 1952, reported a new wave of deportations from Hungarian cities:

> At the end of June, police from Budapest arrived at Miskolc. . . . They gave 200 families 20 minutes to pack their essential possessions. The deportees were forced to leave all the rest of their belongings behind. . . .
>
> In late June and early July, deportations were also reported to have been made from several towns near the Yugoslav frontier, including Pecs, Nagyatad, and Nagykanisza, and from several towns near Austria, including Koeszeg and Szombathely. In South Hungary, 51 families reportedly were deported by rail from Szeged. . . .

No reliable information was available as to whether there were any Jews among the deportees.

In the period of relaxation that followed Stalin's death the deportations were halted, the deportees permitted to return to their homes—under certain conditions, as we shall see below.

6. Arrests and Trials

The Budapest Zionist leaders were suspected of having organized the mass flight of Hungarian Jews in 1949. On June 5, 1949, ten of them were arrested and brought to trial. Seven were sentenced to penal servitude, the others were acquitted.

Further arrests of Zionists took place at later times, but neither the anti-Zionist propaganda in Hungary nor the persecution of the Zionist leaders ever attained large proportions.

During the heyday of the anti-Zionist drive, in 1949, the leaders of the Hungarian Zionists, Dr. Bela Denes and Heinrich Galos, were arrested on the charge of "Titoist-Zionist espionage." Abraham (or Geza) Kornitzer, leader of the Orthodox Jews, shared their fate. They were sentenced to three years in prison. Yet after the expiration of their term, they were not released

but new charges were preferred against them. Only on February 15, 1954, the World Jewish Congress announced their acquittal and release.

At the beginning of 1953, Lajos Stoekler, the president of the Budapest Jewish Congregation and of the National Bureau of the Hungarian Jews, and Laszlo Benedek, director of the Jewish Hospital, were arrested. Their fate is not clear up to this date: Stoekler was reported to have been sentenced to 8 years in jail, and Benedek to have been released. At the same time other outstanding leaders (Leo Csengeri of Debrecen, Shlomo Groszberg of Budapest) together with a number of Jewish physicians and professionals were reportedly imprisoned. A mass trial seemed to be in the offing, which owing to Stalin's death was never held.

D. The Period of Comparative Relaxation (1953-1955)

With the death of Stalin, a period of comparative leniency was inaugurated in Hungary resulting, *i.a.*, in the liquidation of the internment camps and return of the deportees. The leniency, however, has not resulted in any basic changes on the Jewish scene.

1. The Number of Jews

All reports concur in estimating the present number of Jews at 100,000. Since their number was over 140,000 in 1945, the Jewish population has in the space of a decade decreased by nearly 30 per cent. Of the 100,000 Jews, about 80,000 live in Budapest.

2. The Congregations

The number of congregations is estimated at 70. Government-inspired information puts it, however, at 150. Even if the latter figure is accepted, it indicates a tragic development. The Statistical Reports No. 13-14, May, 1949, of the Budapest Office of the

World Jewish Congress enumerated 253 congregations. During the past 6 years the number of the congregations has thus decreased by 100 to 180. The explanation is simple. In 1949, more than the half (precisely 163) of the congregations were very small, numbering less than 100 souls. As many of their members left the country, while others removed to the larger cities, these congregations disappeared.

The depopulation of even the larger communities was extensive:

City	*Number of Jews* 1949	1955
Debrecen	4,500	800
Szeged	1,800	500
Pecs	928	600
Miskolc	2,357	500

These figures alone indicate that, except for Budapest, which harbors 80 per cent of the Hungarian Jews, Jewish life is rapidly declining throughout the country.

3. Religious, Cultural, and Organizational Life

There appears to be religious freedom in the land; the Government does not interfere in religious matters. The president of the world organization Agudath Israel saw a large attendance at the (Orthodox) synagogues of Budapest. The Nagy regime is even said to encourage out-of-school religious instruction. The Budapest Jewish Congregation still possesses a library comprising 80,000 volumes and manuscripts, a Jewish Museum with ceremonial objects and panel paintings, and two Jewish high schools. The Budapest Rabbinical Seminary continues to train young rabbis, but no full-fledged rabbi was ordained in 1954.

However, the financial basis of the synagogues is shattered. The new Constitution separating the Church from the State does not impose affiliation with their religious organizations upon the citizens. As a result, many Jews disaffiliated from the con-

gregations. Of the 80,000 Jews in Budapest, only 30,000 are members of the Congregation, while 50,000 are "free," having severed their connection with the synagogue. Considering that most of the remaining members are in poor financial circumstances, the financial plight of the Congregation must be lamentable. In fact, Dr. L. Heves, the new president of the Congregation, has made a desperate appeal for contributions by the members.

For centuries Hungary had been a bulwark of Orthodox Jewry: the remnants of this group still cling tenaciously to their heritage, and it is these who fill some of the synagogues. But the majority of the rest of the Jews display utter indifference toward their religious organizations. There is no chance to educate a child in the spirit of Judaism; there are no Jewish youth movements, no Jewish lectures, no Jewish literature, not even an opportunity for an occasional get-together. Jewish youth as well as the entire Jewish population of Hungary is being cut off from any type of Jewish cultural manifestation. Thus all ties between these Jews and their brethren in faith in other lands are bound to be severed.

The overall picture is one of rapidly declining Jewish communities in the countryside, the desperate material plight of even the central congregation in Budapest, the absence of Jewish cultural activities, indifference on the part of the majority of the Jewish population, and a young generation estranged from the Jewish heritage.

The hospitals and welfare institutions of the congregations are nationalized, except for a network of homes for the aged. They are maintained by the congregations and subsidized by the Government.

3. The Economic Situation

The governmental occupational readjustment experts acknowledged already six years ago that the vocational retraining of the Hungarian Jews would encounter difficulties because of their being overage. Today the situation is even worse. According to available reports, 40,000 of the 100,000 Hungarian Jews are

over 60 years of age. Some of them receive a pension—a mere pittance—from the State, others depend on their relatives abroad.

No statistics on the employment of Jews are available. It seems a close conjecture to say that about the half of them are unemployed. The other half of the Jewish population are in the main wage earners; many are employed as unskilled laborers in industrial enterprises. The wages are low, affording a bare subsistence. To make both ends meet, both husband and wife must work. Many of the lawyers have been deprived of their licenses, but physicians are employed by the State.

4. The Political Situation

A number of the foremost Communist leaders of Jewish origin have difinitely been removed from the scene.

The dreaded and hated chief of the Secret Police, Gabor Peter, a former journeyman tailor, was sentenced to jail for life. Together with him the former Minister of Justice, Gyula Decsi, who staged the trial of Cardinals Mindszenty and Groesz, was sentenced to nine years' imprisonment, while Peter's former deputy, Istvan Timar, received an eleven-year prison sentence. All three are of Jewish origin.

Matyas Rakosi, as a member of the Party Secretariat, has always remained a potent force, but his close collaborators of Jewish origin have been eliminated. At the beginning of July, 1954, Ernest Geroe, a veteran of the Spanish civil war, who spent the Second World War in Moscow and had since 1945 been second only to Rakosi in power and influence, was removed from his position of Minister of Interior. Prior to this Joseph Revai, the foremost theoretician of the Party, who had been regarded as the No. 3 Communist, was also deprived of all his functions.

5. The Position of the Deportees

As stated above, deportations were discontinued in 1953. The regime permitted, under certain conditions, the return of the deportees to their homes. As a result, about 70 per cent

of the deportees, whose total number was estimated at 95,000 (Jews and Gentiles), have been released. In the middle of 1954, a number of Jews were still reported languishing in their places of deportation, while the rest had returned to their respective places of residence. However, many of the latter were unable to secure living quarters; moreover, from time to time they were investigated by the authorities and if they did not succeed in securing some kind of work, they were in danger of being transferred as vagabonds to an internment camp.

6. Anti-Semitism

Anti-Semitism, which during the various anti-Jewish campaigns was rampant in the country, has somewhat abated. But grass-roots Jew-hatred, although suppressed by the authorities, is still strong. Reports of incitement to pogroms and of cries of "We will make soap of you," etc., circulate from time to time.

7. Emigration

Throughout 1954-55, there were recurrent reports in the press that the Hungarian authorities had decided to permit the emigration of 3,000 Jews—sick persons and people over the age of 65—having relatives abroad.

At the end of 1954, between 60 and 70 persons left the country. In the months January-August, 1955, 180 Hungarian Jews arrived in Israel. In June, 1955, the arrival of a group of elderly Hungarian Jews in Australia was reported from Melbourne.

The total number of Hungarian Jews who arrived in Israel from May, 1948 until the end of 1954 was as follows:

1948 (May 15—Dec. 31)	3,463
1949	6,844
1950	2,721
1951	1,273
1952	218
1953	224
1954	55

CZECHOSLOVAKIA

A. Introductory

Czechoslovakia consisted from its foundation in 1918 until 1938 of three geographical areas: (a) the historic or Czech lands, Bohemia and Moravia-Silesia, which had belonged to Austria until 1918; (b) Slovakia, which had been part of Hungary; and (c) Carpatho-Russia, which had also formed part of Hungary.

(a) The historic lands and the Czechs there had already under the Austrian regime advanced far economically, culturally, and politically. The Czechs, as the majority people, had struggled with the German minority for national supremacy. They obtained it when Czechoslovakia was born. In the nineteenth century, the Jews in the Czech lands had lived mostly in the realm of German culture. Increasing numbers shifted since then to Czech culture. Between the two World Wars, the Jews were largely assimilated to Czech or German culture or linguistically to both. Politically there were two opposing groups: those outspokenly assimilationary (the so-called "Czech" Jew) and the "national" Jews (mostly Zionists). Among the Jews of Bohemia, who were almost twice as numerous as those of Moravia-Silesia, the Jews who declared themselves as being of Czechoslovak nationality were the largest group.

(b) Slovakia, as part of Hungary, had lagged in its development behind the Czech lands, and the Slovaks as a people had been nationally oppressed by the Hungarians. They did not measure up to the Czechs, politically and culturally, after the establishment of the Czechoslovak state. The Jews of Slovakia

were, in large measure, Orthodox and deeply religious. They possessed famous Yeshivot, the foremost of which was the Pressburger Yeshiva (Pressburg being the former name of Slovakia's capital, Bratislava). Hungarian assimilation, of some importance before the First World War, lost its foundation afterwards. On the other hand, Slovak assimilation of Jews had been non-existent before the First World War, and was only in its early stages and still insignificant between the two wars. As a result, there was no counterpart in Slovakia to the "Czech" Jews of the historic lands and Yiddish and Orthodoxy remained alive to a considerable extent until the Second World War. Culturally, the Jews of Eastern Slovakia were akin to the Jews of Galicia.

(c) Carpatho-Russia was a poor, undeveloped agrarian province whose native population spoke Ruthenian (Ukrainian). The Jews of Carpatho-Russia were part of East European Jewry and spoke Yiddish. The majority were Orthodox and the Chassidic movement was powerful. Those not Orthodox or Chassidic were mostly Zionists. Assimilation and assimilationism were practically non-extant. In Slovakia and Carpatho-Russia together there were about thirty Yeshivot.

Roughly speaking, it may be said that economically the lot of the Jews in the historic lands was very good, in Slovakia good, and in Carpatho-Russia poor.

Between 1918 and 1938, the Jewries in the three parts, although for historic reasons different from one another in many ways, were nevertheless united as one entity, living an active national Jewish life and politically integrated by a common purpose. There were Jewish schools. In Carpatho-Russia, with Hebrew as the language of instruction, there existed about half a score elementary schools and kindergartens, a full-fledged Gymnasium (with an eight-year course) in Munkacevo, and an incomplete one (with a six-year course) in Uzhorod. In other parts, with the vernaculars as languages of instruction, there were Jewish elementary schools and a Real Gymnasium (Czech and German) in Brno, Moravia. The Jewish nationality was officially recognized. There was a widespread, influential press,

consisting mostly of weeklies, some of which made their mark in the history of Zionism. Nor did the activity of the Jews halt with Zionism; they had a political instrument in the Zionist-led Jewish Party which received votes in almost all districts where Jews lived—about 100,000—and, thanks to a proportional election system, sent two deputies to parliament. Full-blooded East European Judaism, advanced enlightment of West European Jews, and Zionism possessing the characteristics of both, combined to shape a Jewry aware of its peoplehood and active wherever a useful purpose was to be served. It was multifaceted, but in politics, strongly unitary. Its activities were made possible by the democratic and liberal conditions in the state. For certain reasons, the Jewish national movement was favored even officially.

Some of the differences among the Jews in the three parts of Czechoslovakia can be expressed in figures taken mainly from Bruno Blau's article, "Population Movement among the Jews of Czechoslovakia," in *Yiddishe Ekonomik*, April-June, 1938.

(a) Under Czechoslovak law, every citizen could, at a census, declare his nationality, i.e., his belonging to an ethnic group. In the census of 1930, only 31% of the Jews in the Czech lands registered as of Jewish nationality (the percentage in Bohemia was 20, in Moravia-Silesia almost 52), while the percentage in Slovakia was 53 and in Carpatho-Russia 93.

(b) Of the total number of marriages in 1931-1933 with both partners or one only being Jewish, the proportion of the latter, i.e., mixed marriages, in Bohemia was almost one half (44.7%) and in Moravia-Silesia almost one third (31.5%); in Slovakia one tenth (9.8%); and in Carpatho-Russia almost non-existent (a negligible 1.2%).

(c) The population balance of the Jews had been unfavorable in the Czech lands for many years, but was favorable in Slovakia and particularly in Carpatho-Russia. In the three years 1931-1933, the difference between births and deaths amounted in the Czech lands to a deficit of 3,067, but in Slovakia

and in Carpatho-Russia to a gain of 1,383 and 3,460, respectively. The total natural increase was reduced by emigration and baptism.

According to the census of 1930, there were 356,830 Jews in Czechoslovakia; about one third of them (117,551) in the Czech lands; more than one third (136,737) in Slovakia; and less than one third (102,502) in Carpatho-Russia. Between the censuses of 1921 and 1930 the aggregate Jewish population in the three parts remained almost stationary, the increase amounting to only 2,488. In the 1930's—till 1938—there was some increase caused by Jews from Nazi Germany who found asylum in Czechoslovakia.

The fate of the three parts of Czechoslovakia during the war differed somewhat. Through the notorious agreement of Munich on September 30, 1938, Hitler detached the Sudetenland from the historic lands and annexed it to Germany. The Jews fled abroad or to the not yet occupied part of the historic lands. Half a year later, Hitler marched into Prague and made the historic lands (without the annexed Sudetenland) a German Protectorate. The deportations of the Jews from the Protectorate were complete and at the war's end there were virtually no Jews there (except in the Terezin camp).

Slovakia was set up as an independent state (except for the part ceded to Hungary). Actually it was a puppet state of Germany. Most of the Jews were deported, but some saved themselves within the country and even fought in the ranks of the rebels against the Nazis.

Carpatho-Russia was annexed by Hungary. The Jews were exposed to the anti-Jewish persecution policies of the Hungarian government. Some were used in the forced labor battalions sent together with the Hungarian army against Soviet Russia, but the great majority were deported. A few, being in Budapest, escaped deportation. After the war, Carpatho-Russia was ceded to the U.S.S.R., and Czechoslovakia was reconstituted of two parts only: the historic Czech lands and Slovakia. However, as will be seen below, most of the survivors of the Carpatho-Russian Jews continued to be a part of Czechoslovak Jewry, for most of them moved from Carpatho-Russia to the Czech lands. There-

fore, after the war, Czechoslovak Jewry continued to consist of three distinct groups.

The highest number of Jews in postwar Czechoslovakia was 43,000-44,000, including a few thousand returnees from abroad. The number of those who had succeeded in emigrating between 1938 and 1940 is estimated at about 50,000. Thus, less than 100,000 survived: of the 360,000 Jews living in Czechoslovakia before Munich, 260,000 perished.

Jewish history in postwar Czechoslovakia falls into three parts: the period from the liberation to the Communist *coup d'etat* in 1948; the period from this coup to the end of 1949 (the time of mass emigration); and the period since then.

B. From the Liberation to the Communist Coup (1945-1948)

1. Number and Composition of the Jewish Population

(a) *The Czech Lands.*—Postwar Jewry in the Czech lands was composed of two groups: former residents of these lands (survivors and returnees) and the newcomers from Carpatho-Russia. We will set forth the available demographic data for each group separately. In the following statistics and elsewhere "Jews" comprise only those who belonged to the Jewish Communities.

(aa) *Members of the Jewish Communities*

The surviving former residents of the Czech lands who returned soon after the liberation from Terezin, from other concentration camps, or from abroad registered upon arrival with the respective Jewish Communities. Membership in the *Kultusgemeinden* (Communities) was compulsory under the law.

On the other hand, the majority of the Carpatho-Russian Jews, whose status, as we shall see, was at first uncertain, did not register with the Communities immediately upon arrival, but only after their stay or status had been secured.

It is generally assumed that somewhat over 12,000 Carpatho-Russian Jews survived the Nazi and Fascist period, although some maintain that the number was twice as high. The total of 12,000 was compiled in five assembly centers in Carpatho-Russia in June, 1945. This number comprised those who were on the spot on that date but did not include those who had left Carpatho-Russia before June, those who returned there after June and then left, and those who, after their liberation by the Western Allies from concentration camps in Germany, went straight to the Czech lands.

The first to return to Carpathho-Russia were the soldiers who came back from Russia in October-November, 1944. The second were the inmates of the concentration camps east of Breslau liberated by Russia in January-February, 1945. The third were the returnees from Budapest after its liberation by Russia in March–April, 1945. The fourth were those from the concentration camps in Germany liberated by the Western Allies in May-June, 1945, part of whom did not go back to Carpatho-Russia, but, as stated, went straight to the Czech lands.

The trek from Carpathoh-Russia to the Czech lands took place in several waves. The survivors went to their homes to look for relatives, but when they read in the *Pravda Zakarpatskoi Ukrajini* the heading "We ask for the unification of Carpatho-Russia with the Ukraine," many did not wait any longer and left for the Czech lands. Others waited to see what restitution would be like. But the statute turned out to be of limited application and required court proceedings. The official day of the annexation by the U.S.S.R. was June 29, 1945, and the border at Cop was closed (as the Carpatho-Russian Jews recall, it was the last day of Succoth, Feast of Tabernacles) on September 30, 1945. The great majority went to the Czech lands and only a few hundreds to Slovakia (Kosice).

At the first Conference of the Central Council of Jewish Communities (Rada) held Sept. 1-2, 1945, the number of Jews who were registered with the Jewish Communities up to mid-August, 1945, was given as 7,208, 4,144 of them in Prague. It was

not reported then how many of the 7,208 were Carpatho-Russian Jews. An emissary of the World Jewish Congress who visited the Czech lands in the summer of 1945 reported that about 2,000-3,000 Jews from Carpatho-Russia were present there. Their numbers increased in the summer and fall of 1945 when Jews kept coming from Carpatho-Russia to the Czech lands.

At a conference with the President of Czechoslovakia on November 10, 1945, the head of the Central Council of Jewish Communities said that at the end of October, 1945, the number of the Jews registered with the Communities was about 10,000, and he added that a certain number of people from Carpatho-Russia were included in that figure. The special mention of them in conjunction with the facts stated above leads to the conclusion that a considerable part of the 10,000 were Carpatho-Russian Jews.

It may be assumed that the former residents of the Czech lands numbered between seven and nine thousand at the end of October, 1945, On the whole, their return and registration had come to an end by then and their numbers were not radically changed during the democratic era. Thus, the larger number of Jews recorded in the years 1946-1948 was attributable, for all practical purposes, to the increase in the ranks of the Carpatho-Russian Jews. The combined number of both groups in those years was 18,000-19,000, of whom 8,500 were registered in 1947 as coming from Carpatho-Russia. Actually, the number of Carpatho-Russian Jews must have been higher, for the reasons already set forth and for the further reason that the 19,000 also contained 2,000 Jews registered as having returned with the Czech forces. The majority of them seem to have been Jews from Carpatho-Russia. Former residents of the Czech lands had served only in the Western army; the Carpatho-Russian Jews, however, served in both the Western and the Eastern army. To the former they had come after joining the Czech Legion in Rumania or Palestine and eventually reaching France and England They became soldiers of the Eastern army after having been forced by Hungary into military labor units, called *Munka-*

zolgalat. Part of them were taken prisoner in Russia in the winter of 1942-43, and then joined the Czech military forces formed in that country. They constituted the major part thereof.

It must thus be concluded that of the 19,000 Jews registered in 1947, the Carpatho-Russian Jews represented more than 8,500, constituting over one half of the total. This remained their proportion in the years before the Communist upheaval, notwithstanding repeated flights to the DP camps in Germany.

Together, both groups, the fomer residents and the newcomers from Carpatho-Russia, numbered 18,000 (17,892) in the summer of 1946, a shade under 19,000 (18,970) in 1947, and somewhat over 19,000 (19,123) in 1948.

According to the registration of 1948, there were 7,572 Jews in Prague, composed both of former residents of the Czech lands and of newcomers from Carpatho-Russia, and amounting to 40 per cent of the total Jewish population. Elsewhere—i.e., apart from Prague—there was a more or less clear-cut geographical division: the Carpatho-Russian Jews lived largely in the Sudetenland because there they received, thanks to the expulsion of the Germans, houses and other facilities free. Outside of the Sudetenland, the Jews formerly resident in the Czech lands lived mostly in their former homes: 1,033 in Brno (Brunn), the capital of Moravia, 528 in Moravska Ostrava (Mahrisch-Ostrau), 293 in Plzen (Pilsen), 246 in Olomouc (Olmutz); and in smaller numbers in the other localities.

On the other hand, in the Sudetenland, where the Carpatho-Russian Jews were settled, there were more communities with relatively speaking larger numbers. The Carpatho-Russian Jews made up the two Jewish communities which were numerically the largest after Prague: in the industrial centers Teplice-Sanov (Teplitz-Schonau) and Liberec (Reichenberg) with 1,185 and 1,105 Jews, respectively. Among the other communities were Ustin/L (Aussig) and Podmokly-Decin (Bodenbach-Tetchen) with 789 and 600 Jews, respectively. The Carpatho-Russian Jews also comprised the new communities in the once famous spas: Karlovy Vary

(Karlsbad) with 945 Jews, Marianska Lazne (Marienbad) with 198 Jews, and Frantiskovy Lazne (Franzensbad) with 246 Jews.

(bb) *Non-Members of Jewish Communities*

In addition to the members of the Jewish Communities, there were those whom the Nazis had classed as Jews. On November 10, 1945, the head of the Rada told the President of the Republic that at the end of October, 1945, in addition to 10,000 Jews, there were 5,000 racial persecutees. These, as said, were not members of the Jewish Communities, but registered with them as so-called B Jews (B standing for the equivalent of "without religion"). The Communities and the Rada cared for them, too. Humanitarian reasons and the necessity to avoid a split in the fight for rehabilitation accounted for this cooperation.

The B Jews were in their overwhelming majority former residents of the Czech lands, while Carpatho-Russian Jewry had produced only an insignificant number of this category. In 1948 5,292 B Jews were registered with Jewish Communities, among them 3,188 in Prague, 365 in Brno, 121 in Moravska Ostrava, 110 in Plzen, 108 in Olomouc. Outside of the Sudetenland, there were some communities where the professing Jews were exceeded in number by the B Jews; for example, Hradec Králové (Koniggratz) had 110 professing Jews as against 143 B Jews, and Kolin 98 as against 118.

In the communities composed mainly of Carpatho-Russian Jews, there were few B Jews registered: twelve in Teplice-Sanov and two in Liberec; twenty-eight in Ustin/L and ten in Podmokly-Decin; twenty-six each in the spas Karlovy Vary and Marianske Lazne.

After the war, the abandonment of the Jewish religion continued. The Jewish Communities, functioning as governmental registrars, recorded that from May, 1945 to October, 1947, 838 persons left the Jewish religion and religious Communities, 572 of them becoming "without religion" and 132 turning Roman Catholics. The number of persons who embraced the Jewish religion in the same period was 94, of whom 76 had been without any religious affiliation.

(b) *The Jews in Slovakia.*—There are no official or semi-official figures on the number of Jews in Slovakia. The highest estimate for 1946-1947 was 24,500 (apparently, confessing Jews only), including the few hundred Carpatho-Russian Jews who lived mainly in Kosice, the second largest Jewish community. The number of Jews in Bratislava was estimated at 8,000 and in Kosice at 4,000.

There were also those who had turned Christian, estimated at an early date after the war at 5,500 Many of these had adopted Christianity during the Fascist regime, and part of them allegedly returned to the Jewish fold after liberation.

2. Communal and Organizational Life

(a) *Ideological Background, Assimilation, Zionism.*—Whereas, between 1918 and 1938, the Jews had enjoyed, and made use of, the recognition of Jewish nationality, matters were different after the war. Postwar Czechoslovakia reorganized herself as a national state of Czechs and Slovaks, determined no longer to tolerate national minorities. This was due to the unfortunate experience with the Sudeten Germans. Before liberation, President Eduard Benes, in announcing the end of national minority rights, included those of the Jewish minority. Benes and other government officials, who later spoke in a similar vein, simultaneously called for "assimilation," expressed sympathy for a Jewish State, and suggested that those Jews who wanted to enjoy national rights should go to Palestine. The change in the official policy, though not translated into law, was one side of the matter. The other was the tragic reduction of Jewry to tens of thousands as against the pre-war hundreds of thousands. It was no longer realistic to think of a political Jewish party; or of Jewish schools in the absence of Jewish children. Out of respect for the official opinion, or in obedience to the dictate of the new Jewish reality, or of their own accord, or for a combination of these reasons, the Jews registered, after the war, as of Czech or Slovak nationality. The status of Jewish nationality

that together with other rights and liberties had endeared Czechoslovakia to the Jewish people everywhere was no more.

In the Czech lands, the antagonism between the "Czech" Jews and the Zionists continued in the woefully reduced community, although owing to the changed situation, it was not marked by the same fierceness as before. (The remnants of the Jews of German "nationality" were only an object of concern to be defended against persecution.)

Assimilation as a policy was not popular among the Jews in the first postwar years, but Zionism was. The "national" Jews or Zionists became the dominant group. It was they who took the initiative in Jewish life, who fought for rehabilitation, and who planned for the future. Thanks to the zeal and ardor of the Zionists, the Rada (Council of Jewish Communities) became an efficient, militant, respected institution. The presence of the Carpatho-Russian Jews was a contributing factor to the strength of the Zionists. The "Czech" Jews dared not challenge the Zionists. But they did not disintegrate altogether as an ideological or political group. On the contrary, in January, 1948, almost on the eve of the Communist coup, they gathered for a nation-wide conference to discuss and plan for the future. The Zionists, on their part, did not flout the "Czech" Jews; they did not want to cause, or contribute to, disunity. They needed and wanted their cooperation, and the "Czech" Jews cooperated. Thus, the pattern was set: the Zionists led.

In Slovakia, with Hungarian assimilationism gone and Slovak assimilationism not yet of major importance, the influence of the Zionists was overwhelming. They did not have to fear lest those not sympathetic to Zionism or to national Jewish affairs might be alienated.

The Zionists of Czechoslovakia were united in one organization, headed first by Dr. Oskar Neumann and later by Oskar Krasnansky, both Slovak Jews. The center of Zionism had shifted from the Czech lands to Slovakia. An All-Czechoslovak Conference took place in Luhacovice (Moravia) in 1946. There were

19,600 who paid the Zionist Shekel preliminary to the World Zionist Congress, held in December, 1946.

Zionist journals and bulletins appeared, but for the most part irregularly. The journal *Sionisticke Zjviavy* of the Zionist Organization was always printed; *Haderech* of the Hashomer Hatzair and *Halapid* of the Maccabi Hatzair were either printed or mimeographed.

The Aguda had followers in both parts of the country. The number of its members in Slovakia was 3,000. In the Czech lands, part of the Jews from Carpatho-Russia were oriented towards the Aguda.

(b) *Religious Affiliations and Affairs.*—Religious life, always quiet, unexciting, and organizationally undivided in the Czech lands, had been diversified and organizationally split in Slovakia. The three branches of Judaism (Orthodox, Neolog, and Status-Quo) established under the Hapsburg monarchy, had in the Twenties been reduced to two. The Neolog and Status-Quo communities were united in the Jeshurun Union; and the separatist Orthodox communities in the Orthodox Landeskanzlei, central office of Orthodox Jewry. The communities of "Jeshurun" comprised also some Orthodox elements, including the Mizrachi. The Orthodox of the secessionist or separatist stripe, having all the time been persistently opposed to organizational unity, lost out after the war: the Zionists pleaded for unity and overcame the opposition. Unity was achieved. Although there was no chief rabbi in Slovakia before the war, the Government appointed one after the war: Dr. Armin Frieder.

In the Czech lands, particularly in Prague, the Orthodox way of life continued to prevail to some extent among the Polish and Rumanian refugees and the Carpatho-Russian Jews.

Dr. Aladar Deutsch, who had been Chief Rabbi of Prague before the war and survived in Terezin, succeeded himself after liberation. After him, Dr. Hanus Rezek (Rebenwurzel), who had been a chaplain in the Czechoslovak Western Army, was acting Chief Rabbi, until Dr. Gustav Sicher assumed this post. Dr. Sicher

had been a rabbi in Prague before the war, emigrated to Palestine, and was called back to Prague to become the Chief Rabbi there.

The Altneu Synagogue in Prague, famous in Jewish history, survived the Nazi period and, after the war, became the main synagogue of Prague.

The old way of life and religious orthodoxy still obtained in some parts of Slovakian Jewry, although it was not much evident in the street: Jewish quarters had disappeared, the Yiddish language was not used openly because it sounded German, and the number of Jews was pitifully small compared with the pre-war times. But in Bratislava and even more in the second largest community, in Kosice, Orthodox Jews with beards and earlocks and religious children's schools (the chedarim) could be seen, and the old-fashioned melodies, which were part of the children's studying and interpreting in Yiddish what they were studying, heard.

(c) *The Communities.*—The returned Jews took great pains to restore religious services and to set up their Communities again. First the Community of Prague was reestablished. It was headed at the beginning by the Zionist Ernest Frischer, who had been a member of the Czechoslovak State Council in Exile, then by Dr.Karl Stein, also a Zionist. Elections to the Communities were held in 1947, mostly on the basis of a single slate.

As an overall representative body, the Council of Jewish Communities in Bohemia and Moravia-Silesia (Rada) was set up. The President and the Secretary General of the Rada were the Zionists Ernest Frischer and Dr. Kurt Wehle, respectively. Frischer was elected and reelected at the first and second conference of the Rada held in September, 1945, and October, 1947, respectively. Dr. Wehle was appointed by the Rada in 1945.

In the first conference of the Rada, 63 delegates, representing 43 Communities, participated; in the second conference, 132 delegates, representing 53 Communities.

The organ of the Rada was the *Vestnik,* which at first appeared weekly, then semi-monthly and monthly. Until 1948

the Rada received some financial support for its activities from the legacy of Theresienstadt (the Terezin Fund), which was later, like all heirless property, escheated to the State.

The Jewish Museum, owing to an ironic twist of history, was in a position to increase its treasure tremendously. Dr. Karl Stein, named above, persuaded the Nazis to collect in the Museum the art and religious objects of the places made "judenrein" (clear of Jews). The Nazis agreed, intending this collection to demonstrate the spiritual decline of the Jewish people. Instead, the collection has turned out to be a testimonial to creative Jewish life.

A Union of the Jewish Communities in Slovakia (Ustredni Svaez) was formed by a decree of the Slovak National Council in the fall of 1945. The Union was concerned with matters of religion and social welfare only.

The Union was headed by Dr. Armin Frieder, a Zionist. After Dr. Frieder's death in 1947, his brother, Emanual Frieder, a school principal, also a Zionist, became the head of the Union.

While, officially, 124 Communities were listed, half of that number were virtually non-existent. Records were kept merely because of the synagogue buildings and the cemeteries.

The political struggle for rights and restitution in Slovakia was conducted by the Organization of Racial Persecutees (S.R.P.). Its president was the Zionist Dr. Oskar Neumann; after him, Ing. Shnuerer. There was a personal union in the leadership of Svaez and S.R.P.: the Secretary General of both was Dr. Vojtech Winterstein, a Zionist.

S.R.P. published the *Tribuna,* which appeared weekly and was read widely.

A proposal to set up *one* body to represent the Jews of both the Czech lands and Slovakia did not materialize. The Rada and the Svaez cooperated, had mutual observers, and set up a Coordinating Committee in 1947.

By 1946, Svaez had joined the World Jewish Congress. There was a committee of followers of the WJC in the Czech lands, headed by Dr. Karl Stein. In the Rada, the Zionists, themselves

wholeheartedly for the WJC, did not press the issue of affiliation for quite some time, in order to avoid heated arguments with the "Czech" Jews. At the Second Conference of the Rada in October 1947, a decision was reached, and at the end of January 1948, the Rada, too, joined the WJC.

3. The Fight For Jewish Rights

(a) *Jews of German and Hungarian "Nationality"; Carpatho-Russian Jews.*—Between 1945 and 1948 the central bodies of the Jews fought vigorously for Jewish rights. They made use of the liberties of the still existing democratic system—until it was itself overthrown. The high government authorities and the top liberal leaders frequently heeded Jewish appeals. Foremost among them was Jan Masaryk, the Minister of Foreign Affairs.

In the Czech lands there were two categories of Jews whose citizenship rights, and even their right to remain in the country, were in jeopardy. The first group consisted of Jews who, in the census of 1930, had registered as of German mother tongue and nationality (in 1930 about 30% of all Jews in the Czech lands had declared themselves as of German "nationality"). Their number, according to a memorandum submitted by the Rada to the Prime Minister on September 5, 1946, was estimated at between 1,500 to 2,000 (including non-professing Jews). They were in danger of being treated as "racial" Germans. Their citizenship was canceled; their property was subject to confiscation; and they were not eligible to claim restitution. Worst of all, they were liable to be expelled to Germany together with their former persecutors, the Sudeten Germans. It took a long and hard fight to impress upon the Government and the public that these Jews had not been the allies, but the victims of the Nazis; loyal citizens and not traitors; and that part of them had fought in the Czech Foreign Army.

Finally, in September, 1946, the Minister of Interior ordered that Jews and other racial persecutees should not be deported. Nonetheless, from time to time Jews were still placed in transports of Germans to be deported, and intervention by Jewish

representatives was necessary to free them. Only in 1947 was the threat of expulsion removed, although certain difficulties in the field of citizenship, restitution, etc. continued.

The second and by far larger group comprised the Jews from Carpatho-Russia who settled in the Czech lands. Their main difficulty consisted in their uncertain citizenship status. These Jews, arriving in the historic Czech lands, were threatened with repatriation to the Soviet Union as residents of a region ceded to that Union. Only those who had served in and returned with the Czech armies in exile were without difficulty restored to Czechoslovak citizenship. As for the other Jews from Carpatho-Russia, it was for a considerable time debated whether or not they were eligible to opt for Czechoslovak citizenship.

The Carpatho-Russian Jews settled in Prague (living there together with the former residents of the historic Czech lands) and the Sudetenland, which was practically emptied of Germans. The Jews of Carpatho-Russia who had done heavy work in forestry, agriculture, and transporation in their native land, now worked in factories and on farms, and also as artisans and small businessmen. Some were appointed by the State to manage businesses left by the expelled Sudeten Germans. Because the labor force of the Carpatho-Russian Jews was needed in the Sudetenland, the Ministry of Labor was in favor of their admission to the country or right to stay there, and against their repatriation.

Intervention with the Government on their behalf met intermittently with failure and success. The authorities were blowing hot and cold. Local government organs frequently made raids on the Jews from Carpatho-Russia. While waiting for a definite decision, many lost hope of remaining in Czechoslovakia and, to forestall repatriation, either left for DP camps in Germany or, to a lesser extent, emigrated to France or elsewhere. The exact numbers are unknown; the estimates range between 2,000 and 4,000. Eventually the struggle of the Jews from Carpatho-Russia was won: at the beginning of 1948 all, except a few hundred, already possessed Czechoslovak citizenship. The

committee which dealt with Carpatho-Russian Jews was under the leadership of Dr. Martin Nahum and Rabbi Samuel Freilich.

In Slovakia there were some Jews of "German nationality" (in 1930 their number was 9,945, or 7 per cent of the Jews) and there were threats of deportation, too, but the immediate danger of such action was smaller. The German problem did not loom so large there as in the Sudetenland, and many Germans had fled after the end of the war. There were also Jews of "Hungarian nationality" (in 1930, their number was 9,728, or 7% of all the Jews) who were for a time menaced with deportation, together with the "real" Hungarians, to Hungary. Interventions by the Jewish spokesmen removed the imminent danger of expulsion. After agreements with Hungary regarding the reciprocal status of the citizens had been concluded, the deportation question disappeared altogether. However, because of the deportation threats and other discriminations, some of the Jews had moved to Hungary in the meantime.

(b) *Restitution.*—Restitution was provided for by law. But the law was defective and, in addition, too often frustrated in practice.

In the Czech lands, household goods which were confiscated by the Nazis were restored to the owners if they identified them in the storehouses where the Germans had deposited the movable property left by the deported Jews. There was also, to a degree, restitution of houses—but little of industrial and still less of agricultural property.

For Jews who had declared themselves as of Jewish nationality in 1930, it was difficult to obtain from some authorities a certificate of reliability, which was obligatory for the claimant of restitution. It even happened that they were considered to have been "Germanizers"—despite their previous declaration of Jewish nationality. Late in 1947, thanks to the interventions made by the Rada and S.R.P., the 1930 declaration of Jewish nationality was expressly recognized as a mark of reliability.

The situation appears to have been even worse in Slovakia. At first, Slovakia was exempt from the restitution legislation, the

first restitution decree of December 19, 1945, having validity in the Czech lands only. The law of May, 1946, applied also to Slovakia, but it was thwarted to an even greater extent than in the Czech lands. The reason was that, while in the Czech lands Jewish property was first transferred to Germans and then taken over from the latter by the Czechoslovak State, Jewish property in Slovakia had to a considerable degree fallen directly into the hands of individual Slovaks. The Slovak possessors of these properties were united in their determination to keep the booty. All were hostile to restitution. When a case came up, the authorities usually evinced malice toward the claimant, the Jew. A report made by the Slovak representative Jewish body to the World Jewish Congress in November, 1947, pointed out that he who made the decision was either an Aryanizer himself or an Aryanizer's relative or friend. Needless to say, all the loopholes of the law were abundantly used in Slovakia.

Jews frequently dared not press their claims for fear of mob violence. The attitude of the coalition parties, the Democrats and the Communists, was at best passive. They did not speak up for the Jews nor did they act against the anti-Semitic mobs. They preferred not to antagonize the Slovak masses.

"Jews in Slovakia forego properties"—in these words the situation was summed up in November, 1946, by the *Christian Science Monitor* correspondent in Bratislava.

In the whole of Czechoslovakia, the Communists and the trade unions under their control obstructed restitution and pressed for nationalization even where the law did not explicitly provide for it. No remedy was possible—they had the upper hand. The provision of the law that restitution was to be denied where it was "against the public interest" gave full freedom to the authorities to refuse it in many instances.

The position as of April, 1947, was succinctly summed up by the organ of the Council of Jewish Communities, *Vestnik*, when it said that the amount of assets restored did not add up to 10 per cent of the pre-war total. As of the same time, 90 per cent of the Jewish farms in Slovakia remained in the

hands of the Aryanizers. Some property was restored thereafter, but after the Communist coup d'etat restitution ceased altogether.

The story of the heirless Jewish property is no less disappointing. Official promises had been made to hand it over to the Jewish community. Instead, it was assigned in July, 1947 to the Currency Liquidation Fund (a fund to stabilize the currency and the economy of the country). The hopes of the Jews lingered on for some time, but in actual practice not the Jewish community, but the Czechoslovak State became the heir and successor.

The total spoliation during the Nazi period and the slow and small restitution of property after the end of the war could not but adversely affect the economic position of the remnants of Czechoslovak Jewry. Owing to these factors and the general economic policies of the Government, the number of entrepreneurs and independent merchants was relatively small in the Czech lands, contrary to what it had been before the war. The majority of the Jews were salaried employees, white collar workers, and civil servants. Some became administrators of enterprises which had been confiscated from the Germans or had formerly been Jewish. In Slovakia, economic rehabilitation was even more difficult. Very few were able to get jobs as salaried workers, except in the civil service. It should be borne in mind, however, that the period under consideration was short (1945 to 1948) and the general economic situation unsatisfactory.

(c) *Anti-Jewish Incidents.*—There was no organized anti-Semitic action in the Czech lands, but even there anti-Semitic feelings were evident. They were provoked by the demand for restitution and were exploited for the purpose of preventing the latter. The existence of strong anti-Jewish sentiments in Slovakia was openly admitted by President Benes in August, 1945. Anti-Jewish riots began there immediately upon the return of deported Jews. This wave culminated in the Volka Topolcany pogrom of September 24, 1945, which resulted in 49 persons being injured and many Jewish apartments being smashed.

The rioters were incited by the accusation that a Jewish doctor had poisoned Christian children while making vaccinations. Killings of Jews occurred in the same year in the district of Snina. New riots, openly arranged, took place in Bratislava in August, 1946. There were also occasional minor riots in 1947 and more widespread ones in 1948. In all instances lip service was paid to justice by condemning the rioters publicly, but little, if any action, was taken against the guilty. It must be considered that many Slovaks who had served the Fascist Slovak puppet State during the Nazi period were now serving in various branches of the Government with unchanged hearts and minds.

C. Communist Upheaval and Mass Emigration

The Communist coup in February, 1948, was the end of an epoch in the history of Czechslovakia and of Jewish history there as well. A mass emigration, made possible by the establishment of the State of Israel, set in.

1. Gleichschaltung

When the democratic Government was overthrown, some Communists among the employees of the *Rada* and the *Kultusgemeinde* in Prague made a revolution in these institutions. An assistant to the secretary of the *Rada* turned out to have been a Communist collaborator. The "revolutionaries" set up an Actions Committee, which had the backing of the Communist authorities.

The coup d'état in the State was paralleled by a coup on the Jewish communal scene. A Jewish delegation dared protest at the Ministry of Education (the competent authority) and at the Secretariat of the Communist Party. At the former, the delegation heard good words that the right was on its side. At the latter, the secretary-general, the then powerful Rudolf Slansky, refused to receive the delegation; the Church Department of the Secretariat "promised" to investigate, but nothing happened.

The Actions Committee soon admitted other trustworthy men as members, but no Zionists. It reorganized the Rada: the Zionists were first deprived of their leading positions, then were ousted altogether, or withdrew "voluntarily."

It did not take long before only such persons as were deemed reliable by the regime were in charge of the main offices of the Jewish institutions.

The fight for Jewish rights and restitution was no longer continued.

The cooperation of the B Jews with the Jewish Communities came to an end. The local Communities, as well as the central bodies, were restricted to religious tasks, the State paying the salaries of the religious functionaries. The only exception was that the Jewish bodies were exploited by the regime for purposes of propaganda for consumption at home and abroad.

2. End of Organizational Life

The continuation of Zionist activities grew more and more difficult. However, in the beginning of 1949, a second Zionist conference took place in Piestany (Slovakia) which was attended by delegates from both parts of Czechoslovakia, though elections for delegates had not been held. At the end of that same year the Right Labor Zionist Party still held a conference in Bratislava and elected officers. Significantly, in a report sent to Tel Aviv it was said that the names of the elected officers would be learned from a man going to Tel Aviv. It seems that the situation was more rigid in Prague than in Bratislava, because at the end of 1949, the bulletin of the Labor Zionist Party changed its address from the former city to the latter. In 1950, Zionist activities ceased altogether.

The affiliation of the Communities with the World Jewish Congress came to an end in 1949. The Union in Slovakia formally disaffiliated by cable received in New York on December 5, 1949. The reasons given were: non-participation in the Peace Conference (Communist style) in Paris by the World Jewish Congress, the exclusion from Congress work in New York of the

leftist groups, and the expulsion from the American Jewish Congress of the leftist workers' organizations. The Rada did not take pains to communicate its recession; it disaffiliated *via facti.*

The American Joint Distribution Committee was ordered to discontinue its work and leave the country in January, 1950. Similarly, all other foreign relief institutions had to terminate their activities. The Jewish Agency, later in the same year, decided to close its office because Jews were no longer permitted to emigrate.

3. Mass Emigration

The number of Czechoslovak immigrants arriving in Israel was 2,558 in 1948 (443 before May 15 and 2,115 after that) and 15,689 in 1949, a total of 18,247 in both years. Another 401 (or 632, depending on whether Czechoslovakia was taken as the country of residence or as the country of birth) brought up the rear in 1950. Seven thousand went to other countries, according to figures published by the American Joint Distribution Committee, but there is no exact information as to which period this figure relates and to what countries they went. Private sources report that about 2,000 Carpatho-Russian Jews went to the United States, Canada, and Venezuela. The emigration to Israel and elsewhere was thus between 25,000 and 26,000. Since the number of Jews was about 43,000 (19,000 in the Czech lands and 24,000 in Slovakia), it follows that about 18,000 Jews remained. It is unfortunately not recorded how the immigrants to Israel were distributed as between the Czech lands and Slovakia.

Late in 1949, Dr. Emil Ungar, who by the grace of the Communists was then president of the Rada, in an interview with a Jewish correspondent from abroad, sized up the situation as he saw it by saying that the regime tried to transform the Jewish merchants into workers, but failed because the Jews preferred to go to Israel. At the desire of the Jews in the Sudetenland, synagogues were built, but the Jews there changed their

minds and left for Israel. Some 15,000—16,000 or, according to others, 18,000 Jews remained and only part of them were religious, Dr. Ungar said.

Not all would-be emigrants appear to have left. In July, 1951, when Dr. Arieh L. Kubovy, the new Minister of Israel, presented his credentials to President Gotwald, they talked about the emigration of 5,500 Jews who wanted to leave. President Gotwald was sympathetic and some exit visas were granted; but, due to the anti-Israel campaign that soon set in, the matter went no further. In October, 1954, allegedly 2,500 requests for exit permits to proceed to Israel were pending. However, only 22 visas for elderly Jews with relatives in Israel were authorized, and the Jewish Community of Prague was informed that it was useless to submit requests for large numbers of exit permits because they would not be granted. An elderly woman arriving in Israel in August, 1954, was the first emigrant from Czechoslovakia in three years.

D. The Present Period

1. Trials and Arrests

In the last months of 1951 general purges were carried out. In the fall of 1952, the Rudolf Slansky trial was held. The world was shocked and the Jewish people everywhere aroused, because the trial had a direct bearing on Jewish life.

The motives for this trial transcend Jewish as well as Czechoslovak history. But the trial was admittedly anti-Zionist and, though denied by the Communist leaders, anti-Jewish as well. None of the defendants was a Jew in the sense of religion, culture, nationality, or peoplehood, or in any sense except that of "race." They had not considered themselves Jews. But prosecution and court called them planners of, and agents in, Israel, Zionist, and Jewish affairs. As if it were a part of the crime, the Jewish origin of the defendants was stressed again and again. They were stigmatized as arch-cosmopolitans, as per-

sons who had no roots in, or attachments to, the nation and the fatherland.

Fate and Communist strategy had willed it that Czechoslovakia should be singled out for the biggest Communist trial in which Zionism as well as Jewish humanitarian activities were branded as part of a worldwide criminal conspiracy. The trial had for a time wide repercussions on the Jews of Czechoslovakia. It had been preceded and accompanied by a purge of Jews from public positions and by arrests of Jewish officials, accused of collaborating with Slansky.

The show trial of Slansky was followed up by other, often secret, trials. They pursued the same end. In most cases the accused had been under arrest, like Slansky, since the last months of 1951.

In May, 1953, Rudolf Slansky's brother, Richard Slansky, Eduard Goldstuecker (who had been Minister to Israel), another man of Jewish origin, and one non-Jew were tried. The first two were sentenced to life imprisonment, the last two received sentences of twenty-five years each. All were convicted of "espionage." Goldstuecker was referred to as a "Jewish bourgeois nationalist."

In January, 1954, seven persons, six of them of Jewish origin (among them Jarmila Taussigova, Mikulas Landis, Bedrick Hajek, alias Karpeles) were, as alleged accomplices in the conspiracy of Rudolf Slansky, sentenced to long prison terms, the minimum being 15 years. Here, too, some of the accused were described as "Jewish bourgeois nationalists."

In April, 1954, five former Slovak Communist leaders, all non-Jews, were tried in Bratislava and convicted of various anti-State crimes, especially of having protected Zionism, Jewish emigration, the Joint, etc. Thus, the line, laid down in the Slansky trial, was still pursued.

In the trials, the accused men who were of Jewish origin had been high officials of the Communist Party and of the Government. To round out the picture of a worldwide Zionist conspiracy, Israelis were not missing among the villains. Shimon Orenstein

and Mordecai Oren (a member of the Knesset) were arrested on December 8, 1951, and December 31, 1951, respectively. They were held incommunicado, then used as "witnesses" in the Slansky trial. Late in 1953 the Czechoslovak Government informed the Government of Israel that each had been tried (in camera) and convicted of espionage, with Orenstein sentenced to life imprisonment (on August 7, 1953) and Oren to fifteen years (on October 9, 1953). A third man from Israel had also been arrested, but being a Persian, was released.

Orenstein was released in October, 1954. When he went back to Israel, it was learned from him that he had been tried and convicted with fourteen other defendants, eleven of them Jews.

It is not known how many secret trials were held and how many Jews were interned. Nor is it known how many Jews, not Communists or Government officials, or Israelis, but just Czechoslovak Jews were prosecuted in the wake of the Slansky trial, as part of the campaign against the "Zionist Conspiracy." In August, 1953, nine Jews were, according to reports received much later, tried in secret and given heavy sentences. They were accused of having promoted emigration to Israel. In September, 1953, a report had it that a group of 50-60 Jews was under arrest and held for trial in Bratislava. Nothing further transpired. Early in 1954, twenty-three Jews were arrested in Pilsen for "forbidden contacts" with Jewish organizations abroad. At the same two, two Slovakian Jewish leaders (the Chief Rabbi Elias Katz and Joseph Lipa) were reported under arrest for several days because they threatened to complain about the closing down of five synagogues in Slovakia. They were released on the understanding that they would make no further complaints.

2. The Remnants of the Community

Years passed after the second conference of the Rada (held in October, 1947) with no new conference being called—until the third was held five years later, June 30, 1952. In less than 1½ years the fourth conference took place on November 22, 1953.

At the fourth conference, a Constitution of the Council of

Jewish Religious Communities in the Czech lands was submitted and adopted. It received the proper confirmation by the authorities. The fact was hailed as a great achievement. It is significant that before the last war the Rada was a mere attempt, that in the first poswar period the Rada was very active but managed only to obtain a temporary Constitution from the Government, and that only in the Communist era was a permanent Constitution adopted.

The Constitution regulates all organizational matters in the minutest detail: the synagogue congregation is the smallest unit, the Jewish Religious Community is the highest body. The supreme organ is the Congress of Delegates.

The report about the fourth conference appeared in many languages, including English and Yiddish. It contained speeches making peace propaganda in the Soviet style, but no data whatever about the situation or the number of Jews.

In Slovakia, a conference of the Jewish Communities took place in May, 1955, about which all that is known is that it adopted a resolution against atomic armament and sent a message of loyalty to the State.

Apart from being stirred by trials or other hostile acts by the regime, Jewish life was sluggish and unexciting. The Zionist ferment was no more. The variety that the Jews from Carpatho-Russia had represented was gone: the majority had left during the mass emigration and only about 1,000 of them remained. The marriage of that group of Eastern European Jews with their Zionism, Yiddish, and Orthodoxy, to the culturally assimilated Bohemian Jews had lasted too short a time to be able to rejuvenate and invigorate the latter.

It may be noted here that a World Jewish Conference against German Rearmament, held in Paris in June, 1955, was attended by delegations from Poland, Rumania, and Bulgaria. The representatives of the first two countries went out of their way to praise and advertise the happy lot of the Jews in their countries and the flourishing condition of Jewish culture there. But there were no delegates from Czechoslovakia.

A concise picture of Jewish life at the present time was presented by Shimon Sammet (an Israel newspaper man) who visited Czechoslovakia in 1949 and in 1955. On his first visit he was told by the Sexton of the "Altneu" Synagogue in Prague that there were fewer than 2,000 Jews in Prague. After his second visit he reported that there were no more than 3,000 Jews in Prague, 12,000—15,000 in all of Czechoslavakia, and that the number in Slovakia was larger than in Czech lands.

He also reported that there were fifteen religious communities in the Czech lands (earlier records had spoken of only nine religious communities and synagogues in a few other places; the synagogues were apparently now counted as communities), and about as many in Slovakia. According to the information he obtained, the Government provides the financial means necessary to enable the Jews to meet their religious needs. There are, however, no Jewish schools in Prague. There are few rabbis in Czechoslovakia and they have to travel all over the country to perform religious rites. Dr. Gustav Sicher has remained the Chief Rabbi of Prague. His translation of the fifth volume of the Pentateuch into the Czech language was published under the Communist regime; the first four volumes had been translated by him and published before the war.

*

BULGARIA

A. Introductory

In 1940 there were about 48,000 Jews in Bulgaria, and 3,000 children attended Jewish schools. At the time of the offiicial census of 1934, the Jewish population of 48,398 (counting only persons of Jewish faith) formed about 0.8 per cent of a total population of approximately six millions. According to a survey made in 1944 by the Bulgarian Association in Palestine, the Jewish Communities owned 50 synagogues and other religious buildings; 5 houses used for administrative purposes; 5 hospitals, old age homes, etc.; 12 orphanages, nurseries, and youth centres; 28 yeshivas; 4 *Batei Am* (Jewish centers); 25 libraries and museums, and 56 items of real estate. There were 8 Jewish newspapers and other periodicals, and 165 Jewish voluntary institutions and organizations were active. The total value of these assets was then estimated at about 764 million leva.

During the war the Jews within the old kingdom generally escaped deportation and annihilation, although many were sent to special centers of detention. This was partly due to the determined stand of all strata of the Bulgarian people, including the armed forces and the dignitaries of the Orthodox Church, especially the Metropolitan Stefan. Anti-Jewish laws, including deprivation of property, existed, but were never fully enforced. Far less fortunate, however, were the Jewish communities in the parts of the country acquired from Greece, Macedonia and the Aegean area, as well as Jewish residents of foreign nationality. Most of them were delivered into the hands of the Nazis and

perished. The same fate befell three hundred Jewish refugees from Yugoslavia in Bulgaria (another 100 managed to flee to Albania). The number of victims is veriously given as 15,000 (according to a report by Ben-Gurion) and more than 22,000.

B. Aftermath of Liberation

The terms preliminary to Bulgaria's surrender to the Allies included the restoration of full rights to Jews and other disfranchised citizens. All anti-Jewish measures were therefore suspended in the towns along the Black Sea as early as August, 1944.

All the Jews who had been sent to centers of detention in Bulgaria were released and either returned to their old places of residence or flocked to the capital where 15,000 were already concentrated in the fall of 1944 and 25,000 in the following May.

A report of March, 1945, stated that 33 Jewish Communities were reorganized; 2,200 children under 13 years were attending 15 Jewish schools, while 4,160 Jewish children went to secular schools. An official memorandum by the Bulgarian Jewish Central Consistory to the Foreign Ministers' Conference in Paris (May, 1946) stated, *i.a.*: "We . . . are all safe and sound and have increased in number from 47,000 before the war to 50,000 after it . . . not one Jewish person was taken by the Germans." The exact figure given by the Consistory at that time was 49,712 (or 49,815). It is, however, doubtful whether this number was correct because the same Consistory reported that 123 Jews had been killed while serving with the Partisans, 1,100 had died in internment, and 3,000 had emigrated to Palestine.

The economic situation of the Jews was bleak. In September, 1944, it was described by Deputy Hristo Statev in the Bulgarian Parliament as "difficult indeed." A month later, the new Chief Secretary of the Ministry of Propaganda, Fayonov, himself a Jew, said in a broadcast that "a real solution [of the Jewish rehabilitation problem] was possible only with the assistance of the great

Democracies." Reports issued at the end of 1944 stated that Bulgarian Jewry was economically ruined, destitute and poverty-stricken beyond any possible description. They were completely confirmed by so experienced an observer as Mr. Ben-Gurion, then chairman of the Jewish Agency, who visited Bulgaria in December, 1944, and was received by the Regents and the leading figures of the Government. He found children "starved and naked." The same conclusions were reached by Joseph M. Levy, correspondent of the *New York Times.*

C. Rehabilitation: The Period up to the End of Mass Emigration

1. Legal and Economic Rehabilitation

In August, 1944, the Minister of the Interior received the Jewish Executive Council, headed by Reserve Colonel Tadzher, a well-known leader of Bulgarian Jewry, and informed them of the—informal—removal of anti-Jewish restrictions. Prof. Ehrenpreis, Chief Rabbi of Stockholm and former spiritual leader of the Jews of Bulgaria, rejoiced that Bulgaria "was the first country in Europe to restore human dignity to the Jews who are her citizens." To be sure, Ira Hirschman, noted for his work on the War Refugee Board, stated: "Bulgaria's initial move to revoke anti-Jewish laws was the direct result of pressure from the War Refugee Board, exercised . . . through Bulgarian diplomats in Turkey." The official abrogation of anti-Jewish measures took place on December 4, 1944. At the same time, Jews were readmitted to the Bulgarian Bar Association and to the Medical Association.

Difficulties soon arose about the citizenship of such Bulgarian Jews as had fled to foreign countries. Originally they were requested to return by March, 1945; as this was clearly impossible in view of the fact that the war was still going on, this date was extended to May 27, 1945. Although justified complaints about this and other matters were voiced in a memorandum of the Central Committee for the Immigration of Jews from Bulgaria

in Palestine (May, 1945), all Jews not returning by March 1, 1946, were to be deprived of their citizenship and their property confiscated, according to a World Jewish Congress report. Simultaneously, all Jewish youths, born in 1923-24, had to report for military service.

The restoration of civil rights to Bulgarian Jewry soon found expression in the appointment of members of the Jewish community to important public office. Already in 1944, M. Fayonov was named Undresecretary for Propaganda and M. Levyev head of the Office for Foreign Trade. Three Jews were elected to the Presidium of the Journalists' Association, three others were included in the official list of parliamentary candidates of the Fatherland Front (2 Socialists and 1 Communist). In 1946, two Jews were deputies (Eztiel Meyer and David Yerichem). In the fall of 1946, 25 Jews appeared on the parliamentary list of the Fatherland Front, among them 13 Communists and 3 Socialists. In 1947, Prof. Nissim Nevorach was appointed Minister Plenipotentiary at the Foreign Office. In 1949, Prof. Jacob Nathan, head of the Jewish Consistory, was made vice-president of the State Committee for Arts, Science, and Culture.

Despite the enactment of a restitution law, serious complaints were voiced about the pace and scope of restitution. Finally, in March, 1946, the Government decided to return 8,288 Jewish-owned buildings valued at 1,850 million leva without any special legal proceedings, and shortly afterwards it was reported that all immovable properties had been restored to their former owners. In July of the same year, an amendment to the law was adopted providing for the voiding of compulsory sales and for the repayment of the special "Jewish tax"; compensation was to be paid in cash up to 50,000 leva, with the balance in negotiable 3 per cent bonds. Jewish cooperatives were reestablished with the assistance of the Joint and a ten-year loan of 250 million leva granted by the Government to the Jewish Cooperative Bank, free of interest. As a result of this step, 29 Jewish cooperatives were operating in the summer of 1948. As everywhere in Europe, housing of uprooted Jews posed a serious problem. Former

apartments were returned as far as possible, but business premises, now state-owned, such as shops, offices, workshops, factories, etc. were exempted from restitution.

2. Revival of Jewish Cultural and Social Life

Originally the Government refused to subsidize Hebrew schools as purely religious institutions (February, 1945). However, three months later the Regents declared that it was obvious "that the minorities in Bulgaria will preserve their cultural, religious and ethnical characteristics within the framework of the Bulgarian State," and that the Government would finance the schools of the minorities. In the fall of 1945, a certain falling-off in the number of pupils at Jewish schools seems to have taken place; in Sofia, the total enrollment was only 426—mostly poor children—with about one half in the elementary school and the rest equally divided between the secondary school and the kindergarten. At that time, the Sofia municipality granted a subsidy of ½ million leva to these schools. A bill providing for equal status for minorities' schools was introduced in Parliament in September, 1946, and enacted into law a month later. Under it Jewish teachers received equal rights with respect to salaries, pensions, etc. Instruction was to be given in the Bulgarian language, but the Hebrew language and Jewish history were to be taught in Hebrew. In February, 1947, it was finally permitted that the major part of the curriculum in Jewish schools be taught in Hebrew under a new plan for the education of minorities' children: a new law provided that they study their mother tongues and the development of their respective cultures.

At the end of 1948, the Government also granted the ORT school in Sofia a subsidy of a million leva. In the fall of 1946 a Jewish Hospital was opened in the capital, "a gift of American Jewry," presented by the Joint.

After the liberation, a variety of old-established Jewish voluntary organizations had quickly resumed their activities; in March, 1946, for example, representatives of Jewish Communists, Socialists, Zionists, and B'nai B'rith set up a committee

under the chairmanship of Chief Rabbi David Zion which was to act as the local branch of HIAS. An official survey, published by the Consistory at the end of 1946, revealed that 30 Jewish Communities were functioning, as well as 7 cultural and educational organization, a public library, a Jewish Science Institute, a Jewish anti-Fascist association called "Ilya Ehrenburg," a United Zionist Organization with six sections, a Student Federation, and a B'nai B'rith Lodge (the latter having been temporarily forbidden after the liberation).

Ever since the days of the kingdom, the Central Jewish Consistory, a body of public law, was recognized as the supreme administrator of Jewish affairs and the spokesman of Bulgarian Jewry before the authorities. Now reconstituted and retaining its old name, the Consistory abandoned its religious activities and fell under the influence of a Communist minority which had the backing of the Government. Already in November, 1944, "anti-Zionists" took over the guiding role in the Consistory, which, at that time, was aptly described as "Communist-controlled, but Zionist-minded." After the Minister of the Interior had appointed a sufficient number of "reliable" members to the Consistory, the wartime Commissariat for Jewish Affairs was dissolved in the spring of 1945 and its tasks assigned to the Consistory. During 1948 the composition of the body changed twice. In May it consisted of 13 Communists and 13 Zionists. Obviously following directives from above, a complete unification of official activities was decided upon, the main result being the discontinuance of all Jewish newspapers and periodicals, mostly Zionist, which meanwhile had started publication. In their place, the monopoly of a single Communist-Jewish paper, *Yevreysky Vesti,* was established. Simultaneously, all financial support was withdrawn from the synagogues, which henceforth were to be maintained solely by contributions from religious Jews. In September, 1948, the membership of the Consistory changed again, strangely enough through the readmission of Socialists and Independents. The body was now also charged with the supervision and regulation of what there still was of emigration

to Israel. In accordance with general trends prevailing behind the Iron Curtain, the Consistory announced in June, 1949, its secession from the World Jewish Congress, giving the usual Communist reasons for this step, viz., "reactionary activities" of the Congress and its failure to participate in the World Peace Congress in Paris.

3. Zionist Activities

With moving enthusiasm the Jews of Bulgaria had at the very moment of the collapse of the Fascist rule resumed their work for Zion. Already in September, 1944, the Zionist offices were reopened and in October the first (local) Zionist conference held. At the same time and as the first Jewish paper *Zionist Endeavor* (*Bamah Zionith*), a four-page Hebrew-language weekly, was launched with a circulation of 4,000. A few weeks later another Zionist weekly, *Poale Zion,* began to appear with a circulation of 5,000, and in June, 1945, *Hamadir Haivri.*

The organizational position of the Zionist movement within the framework of the strongly centralized public life of Bulgaria, represented by the Fatherland Front, early resulted in difficulties. Already in October, 1944, Undersecretary Fayonov had announced that "the Zionist Organization and other Jewish bodies will naturally adhere to the Fatherland Front." In January, 1945, the Bulgarian Poale Zion movement split and the minority joined the Bulgarian Socialist Party. In the following June, a three-day nation-wide conference of the Bulgarian Hechalutz suggested —obviously under heavy pressure—that the movement, as part of the Fatherland Front, "temporarily abandon the Zionist program." However, this storm blew over and in November all Zionist parties, with the sole exception of the Revisionists, were functioning with the approval of the authorities.

In January, 1946, 126 delegates attended the First Conference of the United Zionist Organization of Bulgaria. That the Zionists possessed ample freedom of action was clearly manifested by the fact that in February they cabled abroad their protests against a broadcast by the Communist president of the Consistory; they

pointed out that the majority of Bulgarian Jews were Zionists and 13,000 of them were organized members of the Zionist movement, representing 75 per cent of those of an age to be organized. In May the United Zionist Organization joined the Jewish section of the Fatherland Front and received equal representation on all specialized welfare commissions. In the spring of 1948, during the war of Israel's independence, all Bulgarian Jewish groups, including the Communists, lauched a fund-raising drive for the embattled Jewish forces in Palestine. When finally the State of Israel was recognized by Bulgaria, a public celebration of that historic event took place in February, 1949.

4. Stand against anti-Semitism

In August, 1944, Premier Ivan Bagrianov denounced the anti-Jewish persecutions of the former regime, headed by Bogdan Filov, in a speech before the Bulgarian Parliament. In line with this governmental attitude, a half-hour weekly program on the Jewish question and devoted to an all-out fight against anti-Semitism was introduced by Radio Sofia in the spring of 1945, and continued for some time, obviously in order to prepare public opinion for the adoption (in March, 1947) of laws which made anti-Semitism a punishable crime. In May, 1946, it was reported that the authorities had arrested a band of 200 who, apparently as a counter-revolutionary move, were planning the mass murder of Jews.

D. Bulgaria's Jews Go to Israel

The orderly exodus of the vast majority of Bulgarian Jews would never have been possible without the extraordinary cooperation of the regime, which, in spite of certain temporary vacillations, did not prevent their mass emigration and repeatedly expressed its sympathy with the Zionist cause.

The emigration of Bulgarian Jews to Eretz Israel started immediately after liberation, beginning with the first enterprising group of 114 who reached the shores of Palestine as early as

October 3, 1944. In spite of the fact that visas were obtainable only with the consent of the Bulgarian Government and the Allied Control Committee, and that at that time British restrictions on immigration to Palestine still played a decisive role, 12,000 applications had already been submitted by the end of October, 1944. In December, 1945, the first party of 1,000 Jews was authorized to leave and thereafter emigration, partly legal partly illegal, continued uninterruptedly. In February, 1946, the last large transport under the White Paper Quota (382 persons) left. The first group (400), armed with regular visas from the new-born Jewish State, sailed in July, 1948, followed by an exodus of tens of thousands. According to the official immigration statistics of the Israel Government, 35,089 Bulgarian Jews arrived between May 15, 1948, and the end of 1949. They were followed by 1,000 in 1950; 1,142 in 1951; 461 in 1952, and 359 in 1953. Thus, a total of 38,051 Bulgarian Jews came to Israel in approximately 5½ years.

Already in October, 1944, a prominent spokesman of the Government declared that it "views favorably the emigration of Bulgarian Jews to Palestine in order to contribute to the establishment of a Jewish State for people who have suffered under Nazism." This favorable attitude was, however, qualified by the demand that prospective emigrants waive property and claims thereto. Ben Gurion's visit to Bulgaria in December of that year obviously served also the cause of emigration. A Jewish training farm was permitted and in May, 1945, a Bulgarian-Palestinian Chamber of Commerce established.

At the opening of the second national conference of the Jewish section of the Fatherland Front (April, 1946), its president, Prof. J. Nathan, certainly not without the approval of the regime, attacked the British White Paper and stressed again that the Fatherland Front had no objections against emigration to Palestine. In October of the same year the Bulgarian Socialist Party adopted a demand for freedom to emigrate to Palestine for Bulgarian Jews as one of the four points of its "Jewish Program." Delegates of Bulgarian Zionism participated in the

World Zionist Congress in Basle (December, 1946). In 1948, after the establishment of the Jewish State, both Foreign Minister L. Kamjenov and Finance Minister S. Stefanov declared that the Bulgarian Government would continue to permit Jewish emigration to that destination and would extend the necessary assistance to those leaving. It may be true, as the *Christian Science Monitor* said in March, 1949, that Bulgaria wished to be rid of the Jews, largely a middle-class element, in order to facilitate the converting of the country into a 100 per cent Communist state; nevertheless, it must be stated that Bulgaria alone among the Communist countries adopted so reasonable and friendly an attitude.

To be sure, anti-Zionist views were also voiced in Bulgaria, starting as far back as the first meeting of the Jewish Committee for the Fatherland Front in September, 1944, which, while resolving to contact the anti-Fascist Committee in Moscow as well as the World Jewish Congress, indulged in attacks on Zionism and declared Hebrew a foreign language in Bulgarian schools. There were only four dissenters. In the spring of 1945 the Jewish Agency reported that in the distribution of relief goods which this body had sent, "Zionist" children had been discriminated against. The Fatherland Front opened a "Jewish People's University" as a counterweight to Zionist influence. The anti-Zionist campaign was accompanied by attacks of Jewish Communists—allegedly of German and Austrian origin—upon the Jewish religion. In June, 1945, the Hebrew broadcasts were terminated. The following month the then Premier Kimon Gheorgieff said that young, able-bodied Jews would not be permitted to leave the country. In August, however, the Government relented and gave general permission, but only after a formal declaration on the part of the emigrants that they did not have any family obligations and were leaving "as emigrants." In May, 1946, the Consistory, in true Communist fashion, went on record as maintaining that the finding of the Anglo-American Committee of Inquiry on Palestine that the East European Jews wanted to emigrate, "did not apply to Bulgaria."

E. Those Who Remained Behind

The number of Bulgarian Jews who decided to stay is now (1955) estimated at about 5,000. They are scattered all over the country and there are still twenty-eight places where Jews are living. However, only two of them, the capital Sofia and Plovdiv, harbor somewhat larger Jewish groups, 2,800 and 600, respectively. In addition, six towns have a Jewish population of more than 100, thirteen between 10 and 100, and seven fewer than 10.

Emigration, unhampered by the authorities, continues. On receiving the Israel Chargé d'Affaires Gershon Avner, Foreign Minister Neytchev stressed again in December, 1952, that "Jews will not be prevented from going to Israel." It should be noted in this connection that in 1953 Bulgaria introduced as a general rule the death penalty for unauthorized emigrants and for citizens traveling abroad who do not return; members of their families remaining in the country are to be sent to "labor-educational camps." It is significant that only one Bulgarian Jew has returned from Israel.

Obviously, the rapid diminution of the Jewish population caused by the exodus to Israel was bound to be reflected in a far-reaching reorientation and reorganization of Jewish life in the country. Not only was the residual community unable to maintain all the institutions which had been temporarily restored after the war for a group six or more times as large, but, after the departure of the Zionist-minded elements, most of those staying behind were, of course, adherents of the Communist ideology.

Jewish religious life could not escape the impact of these changes. While, in 1944, 35 synagogues still existed in the country (some of them dating back to the 17th and 18th centuries), eleven years later only nine remained usable, while others had been turned over to the municipalities and converted to secular purposes. In Sofia, where daily services were still held in 1955, only about 80 elderly people were said to attend them; a part of the synagogue was handed over to the Government for the

establishment of a museum. Plovdiv, the second largest community, seems to have a more religious Jewry; there a visitor found about 200 adults, mostly elderly, at the synagogue, thus about 30 per cent of the total Jewish community. In all other places where Jews are living, services are held on Holy Days only. There are no *chazanim, mohalim,* or *shochtim* in the country. Many boys, born after the war, are not circumcised, and Jewish burials have perforce to take place without observance of the proper ritual. Mixed marriages occur, but are still criticized in Jewish circles and frequently end in divorce.

In the cultural field, *Yevreysky Vesti* remains the only Jewish periodical. The publication of any other Jewish paper had been forbidden by the authorities in 1948, and shortly thereafter *Yevreysky Vesti* started to attack Israel and American Jewry. Lack of pupils caused the closing of all Jewish schools. All Zionist organizations ceased their activities. Chief Rabbi David Zion settled in Israel and was succeeded by Dr. Asher Hananel (Hanniel). One (woman) Hebrew teacher remains in the country. Ladino, formerly the common language of Balkan Jewry, hence also of the Bulgarian Jews, is now spoken by elderly people only, the younger Jewish generation understanding only Bulgarian. Such Jewish writers as remain in the country do not apply their skill to Jewish topics. The Children's Center in Sofia was turned over to the city in 1949, the hospital in the summer of 1950. The Jewish Center became a Communist office. Collections of valuable books and documents were handed over to the Government, while volumes with a "Jewish national tendency" were removed from the Jewish Library and schools and are now inaccessible to Jewish readers.

Individual Jewish supporters of the regime continue to be honored in many ways; Jewish writers and Jewish actors (of the Bulgarian National Theatre) have received decorations; Jewish film artists, Dimitrov Prizes. A Jew, Reuben Levy, was appointed Minister of Science, Culture and Arts in February, 1952, and quite recently (June, 1955) two Jewish scholars, Azaria Policarov and Leon Mitrani, were mentioned in connection with

Bulgarian researches into the use of atomic power for peaceful purposes.

Certain Jewish activities continue. In 1949, fifty delegates attended the Conference of Jewish Communities in Sofia under the chairmanship of Professor Jacob Nathan, head of the Consistory. This conference confirmed the secession from the World Jewish Congress. A Jewish bank called "Geulah," a Cultural Society, an Artistic Circle, a Jewish Scientific Institute, a Jewish Folk Choir named "Israel Madshen" remained active at that time. In 1952, at the 5th Conference of Jewish Communities since liberation, 22 Jewish communities were still represented. In the summer of 1954, Chief Rabbi Dr. Hananel announced that a public meeting would be arranged to commemorate the 50th anniversary of Herzl's death and that 1,000 persons were expected to attend. At that time all *non*-religious Jewish affairs were managed by the Consistory, which was also responsible for the publication of the only existing periodical.

All this notwithstanding, it is certainly not astonishing that already in the fall of 1950, Bulgarian Jews were described as "gradually losing their connection with Judaism."

In 1955, the Cultural Club in Sofia still continued to arrange lectures and recitals. Plans were made for visits of the Sofia Jewish orchestra, dance groups, and choirs to the provinces, as had already been done by the Jewish Theatre Collective. It was even announced that the Jewish Center in Plovdiv would be enlarged, and that a new one would be established at Russe.

The economic situation of the Bulgarian Jews is not good. Elderly people have great difficulty in adjusting themselves to the economic policies of the regime and their age prevents them from joining the ranks of industrial workers. More than 400 families are thus dependent upon financial assistance by the Consistory, which openly favors veteran members of the Communist Party. In industry and the professions Jews are playing a significant and recognized role, but their number is small. Most of those gainfully employed are white collar workers, watchmen, etc.

II

COMMUNITIES WITH ALMOST TOTAL LOSS OF PRE-WAR NUMBERS

GERMANY • AUSTRIA • GREECE

YUGOSLAVIA

GERMANY

A. Introductory

The German situation is considered by observers of the German scene contradictory in itself and enigmatic in both domestic and foreign policy. Similarly, the future of the Jews in that country poses a number of questions which cannot be answered today, not even by the most careful observers, because the main question — the relationship between Jews and Germans — depends on the general German situation and therefore appears, like it, contradictory and enigmatic.

One of the important phenomena of the past ten years was the appearance in West Germany of Jewish displaced persons who had escaped the fate of the six million European Jews murdered by the Nazis and their henchmen. The fact that these displaced Jews — there were about 50,000 of them on German soil at the end of the hostilities—decided to remain in the motherland of the murderers, was in itself a phenomenon explicable only by the turn of events, mainly the occupation of the country by the Allies. The number of these "aboriginal" DPs was increased by Jews from Eastern Europe who, largely as a result of new pogroms after the war (especially the Kielce Pogrom of July 4, 1946), fled from their homelands and sought temporary havens in the countries occupied by the Allies (Austria, Germany, Italy). Thus, for a number of years Germany was the abode of Jewish displaced persons. When the latter finally and gradually moved on and found new homes, principally in Israel, the United States, Australia, and the South American countries, a number of them

stayed on in Germany, becoming members of the Jewish communities. The small remnants of German Jewry who survived there, plus these thousands of former DPs, can by no stretch of the imagination be regarded as a continuation of the German Jewish community which existed before 1933. It is a "new" composite group with its own characteristics. While the original German Jewish element is overage and may be considered a lost generation, the displaced persons, who on the average are considerably younger, may—if they stay on—contribute to a certain rejuvenation of the Jewish population in Germany.

B. The Past

At the time of the accession of the Nazis in the beginning of 1933, 525,000 Jews lived in Germany. They were most prominently represented in commerce and the professions, less in industry, and very little in agriculture. Of the 147,804 Jews engaged in commerce and credit, 92,353 were independent, i.e., had their own establishments; of the 55,655 Jews engaged in industry and handicraft, 22,199 were independent; and of the 4,167 Jews engaged in agriculture, 3,256 owned their own farms. Jews constituted 16.3 per cent of all German lawyers; 10.9 per cent of all German physicians; 5.1 per cent of all writers and journalists; 34.3 per cent of all bankers (62.5 per cent in Berlin and 68.5 per cent in Frankfurt).

Although the emancipation of German Jewry had led during the 19th century to considerable assimilation and integration into the general life of the nation, it resulted, on the other hand, in an upsurge of new Jewish energies, as manifested, *i.a.*, in the creation of Jewish learned societies and the publication of Jewish studies, and in the role German Jews played in the Zionist movement. They established the *Gesamtarchiv der Deutschen Juden*, the *Gesellschaft zur Foerderung der Wissenschaft des Judentums* in Berlin, the *Akademie fuer die Wissenschaft des Judentums* in Berlin, the publishing houses of the Philo-Verlag, Juedischer Verlag, and the Eschkol Welt-Verlag. About 50 Jewish communal weeklies and another 50 Zionist,

youth, and similar periodicals were published, as well as the monthly for the history and science of Judaism. All these were evidence of a very active and many-sided Jewish cultural life.

The German Jewish Communities were probably the most highly organized in the world. In 1931, 963 Jewish Communities, embracing about 90 per cent of the total Jewish population, had a yearly expenditure of over 28 million marks. There were 311 Jewish institutions in 1932, among them 20 hospitals, 53 convalescent homes, 41 orphan asylums, and 65 kindergartens and youth centers, with a personnel of about 2,500. These figures do not include libraries and reading rooms.

In 1932, 140 cities, towns, and villages had Jewish elementary schools, attended by about 12,600 out of a total of 56,000 children of school age. In some cities (Hamburg, Cologne) almost 50 per cent of all Jewish children attended Jewish schools. In addition, there were many Sunday Schools; in Berlin alone there were (in 1932) forty-seven such schools and extensions attended by 3,700 children. The larger cities had Talmud Torahs, and there were three major rabbinical colleges.

When the Nazis came to power in Germany, Jews began to be systematically eliminated from the cultural, economic, and political life of the country. Due to oppressive governmental measures, ever growing social anti-Semitism, and overt acts of violence, Jews began to emigrate from Germany in increasing numbers. The number of those who left grew in proportion to the persecution. In May, 1939, according to German figures, there remained only about 235,000 Jews in Germany.

About 360,000 Jews emigrated in the years 1933-1941, but a considerable number of them were subsequently caught in various European countries by the onrushing German armies (France, Belgium, Holland), or in countries allied with Germany (e.g., Italy). Those who did not commit suicide or die of natural causes were deported to the East for extermination. Only a few thousand succeeded in hiding in Gentile surroundings. A similar fate befell the 140,000 Jews who remained in Germany at the end of 1941.

C. The Development in West Germany since 1945

1. Numbers and Age Structure

At the end of the hostilities, there were about 70,000 Jews in Germany, 15,000 to 20,000 of them of German nationality. They consisted of survivors of the Nazi concentration camps in Germany, brought there from various countries, and those German Jews who had managed to survive Nazism, either because they had lived in hiding or were married to "Aryans" and therefore protected under Nazi legislation. After the above-mentioned influx from Eastern Europe, the Jewish "population" increased to almost 200,000 at the beginning of 1947. Then followed a rapid decline as a result of emigration of the DPs, especially to the newly-founded State of Israel: in July, 1947, the number of Jewish displaced persons amounted to about 169,000; in June, 1948, to about 163,000; at the beginning of 1949, to about 91,000; in May, 1949, to 59,000; in March, 1950, to 25,000, and in August, 1950, to 21,500. Of this last total, 8,760 lived in displaced persons' centers and the rest in various cities and towns of West Germany. The total number of Jews in the whole of Germany in August, 1950, was 34,000. Since then the number has changed but little. The decline during the following years because of emigration of DPs was balanced to some extent by a certain number of re-migrants. In December, 1952, the number of Jews in West Germany, excluding West Berlin, was estimated at 23,000. On March 31, 1953. the number of Jews was given as 26,500 in West Germany and the whole of Berlin. In January, 1955, a survey by the Federal Government established that 27,000 Jews lived at that time in West Germany and Berlin. Among them were 18,000 Jews of German origin, while the remainder consisted of former displaced persons from Eastern Europe.

All these are professing Jews, members of the Jewish Communities. However, there seem to be numerous non-baptized Jews who do not register with the Jewish Communities, and some of whom even conceal their Jewish origin. Their number is estimated at 15,000.

A striking characteristic of the Jews in Germany is that the majority of the "German" Jews is composed of older people, their average age ranging between 55 and 58 years. On the other hand, the Jews in Germany who stem from the East European countries have a consideribly lower average age, between 40 and 45.

As regards children, meaning the group of people under 14 years of age, the situation has improved since the early postwar period. During the first five years after the end of the war there were hardly any children in many small Jewish communities and very few even in the larger ones. Thus, for instance, in 1949 there were no children at all under 10 years of age among the 37 Jews at Trier, and not more than 2 children among the 70 Jews at Aachen. In January, 1951, the Jewish congregation in Muenster, Westphalia, celebrated the Bar Mitzvah of the only surviving Jewish boy in that community. According to a report of the Central Council of Jews in Germany, there were already about 2,500 children in Western Germany, including West Berlin, in June, 1954. In the city of Duesseldorf there were 50 children at the end of 1954, while two years earlier the community had only four. Most of the children are the offspring of the former Jewish DPs who have founded families in Germany and are begetting virtually all the Jewish children to be found there.

There is still the problem of Jewish children in Germany who are living with non-Jewish families, with whom they were placed for safety during the Nazi regime. Their number is unknown, even approximately. This question has been repeatedly taken up by Jewish organizations with the Bonn Government and a list of these children was drawn up early in 1954.

All but one of the DP camps have been completely disbanded in the course of the years. There are still a few inmates in Foehrenwald. In this camp the so-called hard-core cases were concentrated and were later joined by some former DPs who had returned from Israel and entered Germany without official re-admission papers. Most of the hard-core cases have found a haven in Israel and in the Scandinavian countries. Arrange-

ments are now being made for the inmates of this last DP camp to be resettled in various places of Germany, insofar as they do not emigrate.

2. The Economic Situation

Immediately after the end of the hostilities, due to their spoliation, poor state of health, and the advanced age of the remnants of the German Jews, the Jews in Germany were largely dependent on public assistance. As late as 1949, at least 40 per cent of the Jewish population in Germany lived on relief. In Hamburg no less than 60 per cent were forced to depend on financial aid at the end of 1951. Since the aid given by agencies of the municipalities or the Laender and the assistance granted to victims of Nazism did not satisfy the most urgent needs, foreign Jewish organizations and the Jewish Communities in Germany had to contribute to the local relief funds. For the Jewish Communities in Germany this was a very hard task because of their own precarious situation. In many cases the unfriendly attitude of the German agencies and excessive red tape contributed to the slowing down of assistance payments.

As a consequence of the improved indemnification laws, the economic condition of a number of Jews in Germany has improved, since former officials, professionals, and other persons who lost their livelihood because of Nazi persecutions are now receiving indemnification in the form of annuities, pensions, capital funds, and loans.

Jewish properties, including a number of important Jewish enterprises, have been restored to their former German pre-Nazi owners, and a number of the latter have returned to Germany to resume their activities in that country. One of the best known is the publishing House of Ullstein in Berlin, which was founded in 1877 and was one of the largest publishing concerns in Europe in the 1920's, employing 10,000 persons and doing $20 million worth of business annually. The *Berliner Morgenpost,* which before 1933 had a daily circulation of 500,000, is now being published again.

The improvement in the economic situation in the Federal Republic also affected the economic lot of the Jews. There are now about 300 Jewish lawyers practicing in the Federal Republic, as against only 97 in 1949. There are 30 Jewish physicians and from 20 to 30 Jewish editors. In the offices of the Federal Republic and the governments of the Laender, 140 Jewish officials are active, some of them in important positions. Jewish judges are sitting in courts, three in the Federal Supreme Court in Karlsruhe. The Vice-President of the Federal Constitutional Court is a Jew. A number of university professors have also returned to Germany and are teaching at German universities.

There are about 200 self-employed Jews in trade and industry. They are organized in the Arbeitsgemeinschaft juedischer Gewerbetreibender und Industrieller (Association of Jews Occupied in Trade and Industry), which operates under the guidance of the Central Council of Jews in Germany.

During the first five years after the war Jews engaged in industry and commerce had to face peculiar difficulties: wholesalers gave preference to their non-Jewish customers; in many instances the official agencies which allocated merchandise and raw material to the producers assigned less to Jewish firms than to their non-Jewish competitors because the Jewish firms were not on the official list of buyers prepared under the Nazi regime and still in use at that time. Export licenses were in many cases also allotted on the basis of figures valid in 1938, when many of the Jewish businessmen were either in concentration camps or excluded from commerce. This situation has completely changed in the last years: at present there is no longer any discrimination against Jews in German industry. In this the attitude of leading members of the Adenauer Government has played a decisive part.

In 1954, the American Joint Distribution Committee together with the Central Welfare Agency of the Jews in Germany established a revolving loan fund to help Jews in Germany become self-reliant artisans, professionals, or businessmen, in order to consolidate the economic position of the Jewish community in

Germany. Branches of the fund were set up in Frankfurt, Munich, and Berlin.

3. The Jewish Communities

After the end of the war the Jews in Germany began to rebuild their Communities. This was an almost impossible task, as a comparison between the number and status of the Jews in Germany in 1933 and in 1945 will show. In addition to the completely changed demographic situation, the responsibilities of the Jewish Communities since 1945 were greatly altered, embracing duties never known before. Beside the religious, cultural, and social welfare work, the Jewish Communities had to help their members in such problems as feeding, clothing, housing, education, occupation, and emigration. Assistance to the needy, old, and sick was a tremendous burden since, as said, the aid given by the governments and municipalities did not suffice in any way.

In addition, the Jewish Communities had to start their work on a vast field of ruins. Most of the synagogues and Jewish communal buildings were burned down or had been destroyed during the progroms of 1938 or turned to profane uses like movie houses, theaters, slaughter houses, garages, etc. The Jewish cemeteries had been badly damaged before and during the war, accidentally or by design.

The Jews in Germany are now scattered in about a hundred cities and towns, some of them in communities of only a few souls. The report of the Federal Government gives the number of Jewish Communities at the beginning of 1953 at 84. Today the number is about 100. The Jewish Community of Berlin has about 5,000 members; Munich, 2,100; Frankfort, 1,200; Hamburg, 1,100; Cologne, 900; Duesseldorf, 500; Dortmund, 270; Fuerth, 250; Hannover, 250; Essen, 181; Nuernberg, 190; Regensburg, 160; Wiesbaden, 140; Aachen, 105; Bonn, 100. The rest are even smaller in size.

The larger Jewish Communities have regained their pre-Nazi status as corporations under public law. This status, which is

enjoyed by the churches of all major denominations, confers certain fiscal advantages and makes it possible for the Jewish Communities to levy "church taxes." In an important decision at the end of 1954, the Berlin Administrative Court confirmed that all residents of Berlin who list themselves as Jews are automatically members of the Jewish Community and therefore liable to pay the "religious tax" collected by the Berlin Jewish Community. This decision is of fundamental importance. It was made in a test case in which a Jew who had returned to Berlin from a country of emigration claimed that he was not obliged to pay the religious tax because he had not registered as *a member of the Jewish Community,* that the Community's status as a corporation under the public law did not include the right to levy taxes, that the social structure of the Community's membership had undergone major changes, and that mandatory membership was unconstitutional. The Administrative Court ruled on all these four points against the Jewish returnee and for the Community.

The Jewish Communities of the various Laender are united in Federations, most of them named Landesverbaende der Juedischen Gemeinden (State Federation of Jewish Communities). There are the Landesverbaende of Nordrhein-Westfalen, Hesse, Rheinland-Pfalz, Niedersachsen, Bayern; the Verband der Juedischen Gemeinden Nordwestdeutschlands (comprising Bremen and Hamburg); the Juedische Gemeinschaft Schleswig-Holstein (comprising Kiel, Luebeck, and Flensburg); the Oberrat der Israeliten Badens (comprising Freiburg, Heidelberg, Karlsruhe, Mannheim); the Israelitische Kultusvereinigung Wuerttemberg.

All these Federations and Berlin were linked together with the Communities of East Germany in the Central Council of the Jews in Germany, which was founded in 1950. The cooperation of all Jewish communities—of West and East Germany and the whole of Berlin—in the Central Council was of great importance for the development of Jewish social and cultural institutions under a central direction. The following important

bodies are working with the Central Council: The Zentrale Wohlfahrtsstelle der Juden in Deutschland; the Juedische Frauenbund, with about 3,000 members; the Arbeitsgemeinschaft juedischer Gewerbetreibender und Industrieller; the Arbeitsgemeinschaft der juedischen Juristen. Through their cooperation in the Central Council, these centralized bodies are able to take up their needs with the Federal Government or the governments of the Laender in a suitable form in accordance with the well-understood exigencies in all parts of the Federal Republic.

The Central Council of the Jews in Germany is affiliated with the World Jewish Congress.

During the past ten years a considerable number of Jewish Communities rebuilt and reconsecrated some of their synagogues which had been destroyed by the Nazis. A number of memorials to Jews murdered by the Nazis have also been erected.

Special care has been given to homes for the sick and the aged. The Jewish hospital in Berlin, which is today the only Jewish hospital in Germany, has 400 beds and a staff of 250. It was the only Jewish institution in Germany which was able to continue its operations under the Nazi regime, under the most difficult circumstances. In recent years the hospital has been modernized and carries on the work of nursing the sick as a Jewish responsibility, although only about one-third of the patients are Jews.

An especially heavy burden incumbent on the Jewish communities since the war has been the care of the Jewish cemeteries. Many of these had suffered severely under the regime of Nazism through willful desecrations, removal of metal and stones, and from war operations. Unfortunately, after the end of the hostilities, the willful desecrations of hundreds of Jewish cemeteries played a most infamous role in the life of the new Germany, and these violations continue even today. The Jewish communities have not been able to bear the financial burden of maintaining all existing cemeteries, especially those which are closed and located far from a large community. The total number of Jewish cemeteries amounts to 1,800; of these, 100 are in use, while 1,700

are closed. Close cooperation among the Federal Government, the governments of the Laender, the local authorities, and the Jewish communities with a view to concerted and concentrated efforts for the care of these sacred places is required.

For a long time after 1945 there were acrimonious disputes between the Jewish Communities on the one hand and the so-called successor organizations (the Jewish Restitution Successor Organization—JRSO—in the American zone, the Jewish Trust Corporation in the British zone, and the French branch of the Jewish Trust Corporation in the French zone) on the other, in regard to the Jewish communal property in West Germany and Berlin. Finally, an understanding was reached: two trust funds were set up, each administered by a board of eight members, to defray future communal and welfare needs. The trust funds will receive substantial lump-sum payments from the successor organizations, as well as a share of the idemnification payments based on the destruction of Jewish communal property. So far as the former communal property is concerned, special agreements have been concluded between the successor organizations on the one hand, and the Jewish Communities of West Germany and that of West Berlin, on the other.

4. Cultural and Religious Life

The peculiarities of the Jewish situation in Germany are especially reflected in Jewish cultural and religious life. Not the programs, but the possibilities, have been the decisive factor in the development of the new Jewish Communities and their members. The significant characteristic of German Jewry since 1945, namely, the fact that there are many living in mixed marriages or are half-Jews, necessarily manifests itself in Jewish cultural and religious life. A common aspect is that one partner of the mixed marriage attends Jewish divine services, and the other the services of his or her Christian denomination.

The main task in developing or preserving Jewish cultural and religious life consists in bringing up the children in a Jewish way and in teaching the adults things that they either

have never known before or have almost forforgotten under the pressure of events. The solution of the problem depends on finding a satisfactory answer to the question of how to provide the Jewish communities with rabbis and teachers and how to facilitate their work in areas in which the communities are widely dispersed, and where the rabbi often has to travel for hours by car or train in order to officiate at a Jewish funeral or other services. There are only 5 or 6 permanent or semi-permanent rabbis in the Federal Republic to take care of a Jewish population of about 27,000 Jews; sometimes there are only 3. In Berlin, there is also the perennial question of finding a permanent rabbi for the biggest community in the country. Rabbis from abroad, in particular from Great Britain, officiate on the High Holy Days.

Of the former Jewish D.P.'s who are staying on in Germany and whose number may be estimated at about 9,000, a considerable number observe the Orthodox and traditional practices. In November, 1954, an "Association for Torah-True Judaism" was founded in Fuerth, Bavaria, under the chairmanship of Rabbi David Spiro, formerly of Warsaw. The meeting was attended by delegates from all parts of Germany. A parallel group is to be set up in Frankfort-on-the-Main, headed by Dr. Moses Breuer, President of the Frankfort Chevra Kaddisha.

Synagogues are being rebuilt, often with the financial assistance of the German authorities. This will also contribute to the strengthening of Jewish religious and cultural life in the country. The number of houses of worship in active use amounts to about 60, the majority of them *Betsaele.*

The most important task, the Jewish education of the children, is progressing slowly. Because of the scarcity of teachers, this education is limited to instruction in religious practices and biblical history. There is a possibility of receiving Hebrew lessons in the larger communities, but there is so far not a single Jewish school in the whole Federal Republic, although Jewish kindergartens are being maintained successfully in the larger communities.

In May, 1954, for the first time since the downfall of Nazism, Jews from all parts of West Germany and from West Berlin assembled at Bad Nauheim to deliberate on ways and means of invigorating Jewish cultural life and Jewish education in Germany. The conference was headed by Professor Baruch Graubard, director of the former Hebrew high school in Munich and now a lecturer at Marburg University, who dealt with the need of instilling a spirit of Jewish identification in the Jewish children growing up in scores of towns and cities throughout Germany with little Jewish education or none at all. He laid emphasis on the teaching of Hebrew, on summer camps, vacation travels to Israel, employment of itinerant teachers, and the establishment of a boarding school. Dr. E. G. Lowenthal, Secretary of the Cultural Commission of the Central Council of Jews in Germany, outlined a program of adult education, lectures, scientific reseach, and public relations. But the question remains as to what extent the existing circumstances will permit the carrying out of these programs.

For some time now the Jewish Community of Berlin has conducted Jewish divine services and educational courses over the radio in a regular series for adults. The official Free-Berlin radio station in West Berlin started Jewish cultural and religious broadcasts about a year ago.

In January, 1955, Jewish delegates from all parts of West Germany were invited to a Jewish youth camp near Hausham in the Bavarian Alps, where they formed the Central Association of Jewish Youth, whose object is to serve as a coordinating organization with its seat in West Berlin. The meeting was addressed, *i.a.,* by Dean Hermann Maas, Superintendent of the Protestant Church in the Heidelberg area, a proven friend of the Jewish people, who saved many Jewish children during the Nazi regime. Dean Maas, who recently visited Israel as a guest of the Israeli Government, speaks Hebrew fluently and is the German translator of the works of Bialik. Since Berlin has become the seat of the Central Association of Jewish Youth, it is to be expected that Berlin, the largest Jewish community, will

closely cooperate in the educational and cultural work of this organization.

There are Jewish periodicals in the Federal Republic: the *Allgemeine Wochenzeitung der Juden in Deutschland,* published weekly in Duesseldorf, which is already in its tenth year. It deals with all aspects of Jewish life, in Germany and Israel, and also with the events of Jewish importance in other countries. In Munich there are two weeklies, the *Muenchener Juedische Nachrichten* in German and the *Naie Jiddische Zeitung* in Yiddish. Two papers are issued monthly: the *Juedische Illustrierte* in Duesseldorf and the *Israel-Informations-Dienst,* issued by the Israel Mission in Cologne. An organ of the Jewish Students Associations, entitled *Baderech,* is published at irregular intervals.

Interest in Zionism and in the newly-founded State of Israel was and is keen among all Jews living in Germany. Therefore it was a heavy blow for them when the Jewish Agency announced in August, 1950, that it would close its offices in Germany. The Jews in Germany felt that this decision was an undeserved reflection on their Jewish sentiments and they stressed that in spite of their tremendously difficult situation they had contributed financially to the utmost of their ability to the task of building the new Jewish State. It was a very happy moment indeed when in July, 1954, it was announced that the Zionist movement had been re-established in Germany with the organization of a new Zionist Federation and the election of a three-man executive and a seventeen-member national board. The new federation is affiliated with the World Zionist Organization. Shekolim will be sold by German Zionist Organization and on that basis the Jews in Germany will be able to send delegates to the next World Zionist Congress. Local chapters of the Zionist organization of Germany have been established in Frankfort, Berlin, Cologne, Stuttgart, and steps are being taken to found a branch in Munich.

Some difficulties with shechita arose when German authorities and associations in Munich and Frankfort adopted resolutions in favor of enacting legislation prohibiting the Jewish religious

mode of slaughtering animals for food. Strangely enough, some German legal experts considered the Nazi legislation prohibiting shechita as still legally valid and only temporarily in abeyance as a result of a decree by the Allies at the beginning of occupation which permitted the killing of animals according to the Jewish ritual law. These German legal experts expressed the opinion that with the end of the occupation this Nazi law would automatically be restored, since the law was a "humane and not an anti-Jewish measure." As of this date, shechita has not been prohibited.

5. Relationship with the non-Jewish German Population

The question whether peaceful co-existence of Jews and non-Jews will be possible in Germany has been asked ever since the end of the war in 1945. A clear-cut answer has not yet been found.

In the first years after the end of the hostilities, it was generally assumed that no Jews would remain in that country and that there would never again be any Jewish communities there. Not only could the Jews not forget the tortures inflicted upon them and the murder of their relatives by the Nazis, but every day they were reminded that they were Jews and that they were staying in a country of which anti-Semitism was one of the strongest characteristics. Adhering to the Nazi doctrine, many of the Germans still considered the Jews a foreign substance in the German body politic. Moreover, they generally included the Jews among those responsible for the "misfortunes" which had befallen the German people after the lost war.

The German Federal Government and most of the governments of the Laender have made a serious effort to rid the country of anti-Semitism. There is no official anti-Semitism in the Federal Republic and West Berlin today. President Heuss, Chancellor Adenauer, and most of their ministers are certainly no anti-Semites, and no anti-Jewish utterances are heard in the Federal Parliament. However, no law against anti-Semitism has yet been promulgated in the Federal Republic.

The German governments, authorities, and public agencies have conferred all kinds of honors upon Jews within and outside Germany in order to prove their pro-Jewish feelings. The highest newly created German decoration, the Grand Order of Merit with Star, has been awarded to a number of Jews. Three jurists have been appointed to the Federal Supreme Court in Karlsruhe. Jewish scholars have been appointed and re-appointed professors at German universities. Four Jewish professors have been appointed rectors (chancellors) of West German universities. Stamps showing the faces of Walter Rathenau and Professor Paul Ehrlich have been issued by the West German Post Office. The 750th anniversary of the death of Moses Maimonides was observed with an impressive ceremony at Duesseldorf which was attended by a distinguished audience, including President Theodor Heuss and other high West German officials. Speakers at the ceremony were Rabbi Dr. Leo Baeck, who had flown from London to Duesseldorf specially to attend the commemoration, and Professor K. H. Rengstorf, a Protestant theologian, who revived at Muenster University the Delitzsch Institute of Jewish Studies, founded in 1886 at Leipzig to enable Protestant theologians and missionaries to study Jewish subjects and closed by the Gestapo under the Nazi regime. The Bavarian Academy of Science has appointed three Jewish scholars among 14 savants in foreign countries as associate members.

"World Brotherhood", an offshoot of the National Conference of Christians and Jews in the United States, which already has seven national sections in a number of European countries, established a German national section in Frankfort in August, 1954, and appointed two Jews as board members.

"Brotherhood Week" has been inaugurated by the Society for Christian-Jewish Cooperation and has been celebrated for several years throughout West Germany and in West Berlin. In March, 1955, it was celebrated in the Paulskirche in Frankfort after President Heuss had accepted the patronage. The meeting was addressed by the President of the Federal Bundestag and

by other leading political figures, for instance, the Socialist Professor Carlo Schmid.

An important movement of good will, "Peace with Israel", was founded by Erich Lueth, Director of the Press Department of the Senate of Hamburg, and a considerable number of German personalities and organizations have joined the movement.

This is the positive aspect of Jewish-German co-existence. However, there is also a negative side. In the first years after the end of the hostilities, the 9th of November—the day of the pogroms and the burning of synagogues in Germany in 1938—was used as a day to remember the victims of Nazism, and memorial services were held in West Germany and Berlin, where Jews and non-Jews gathered to honor the memory of the victims of Nazism. Since 1950, instead of the 9th of November, the 7th of September has regularly been observed as the anniversary of the adoption of the Federal Constitution as well as "in remembrance of the victims of the war and of Fascism." By this change the date of the burning of the synagogues completely disappeared and the new memorial day was observed first of all in honor of the basic law of the new Germany, next in commemoration of the German victims of the war, including those who perished through Allied air attacks, while the victims of Nazism were consigned to a third category of those to be remembered. Moreover, by replacing the word "Nazism" with "Fascism", a further modification of the function of the day was effected.

As already mentioned, Jewish cemeteries and memorials for Nazi victims were continually desecrated and damaged all over Germany and the authorities met with little success in their efforts to find the culprits. The words "grazing sheep and playing children" became a stock phrase to describe the futile efforts of the authorities to deal with this matter. These acts of vandalism are regarded as a sign that anti-Semitism in Germany has gone underground, but it is a very lively corpse which rises time and again to discomfit the optimists.

A number of reports were published during the past decade by agencies of the Allied High Commissioners in Germany and by

private, semi-official, and official agencies of the German Government on the basis of inquiries concerning anti-Semitisim in Germany. These reports—even the optimistic ones—show that the Jew is still considered an outsider by the majority of the German people and that as a matter of fact the Jews in Germany live on an island of nonunderstanding or misunderstanding among the majority of the German people. One has to bear in mind that because of the small number of Jews in Germany today, as contrasted with the over 500,000 Jews who lived in Germany before Nazism, relatively few Germans have contacts with Jews. It is interesting to note that the younger people have considerably less anti-Jewish feeling. The young people are interested in receiving information about Jwish efforts and achievements in Israel and the positive side of the Jewish question.

One of the most recent reports dealing with the problem of anti-Semitism in the Federal Republic has been made by the Bundeszentrale fuer Heimatsdienst (Federal Center for Domestic Affairs), an official agency of the Federal Government, in cooperation with EMNID (Institute for Public Opinion Research in Bielefeld)—a group of statisticians and psychologists working according to the principles of the American Gallup Institute. They undertook a poll of a cross section of the German population to ascertain the attitude toward anti-Semitism. Questions were asked with regard to the general attitude toward Jews, the names of the most famous Jews, the attitude toward intermarriage with Jews, the knowledge of atrocities committed against Jews under Nazism, and the number of Jews murdered by the Nazis between 1933 and 1945. The facts which emerged from this inquiry are quite revealing. First, more than two-thirds of those polled formed their views on Jews on the basis of hearsay. Second, although all overtly denied that they were anti-Semitic, one-sixth of those polled quite frankly professed anti-Semitic feelings. If this percentage is representative of the entire older population, it would appear that from five or six million grownup Germans harbor anti-Semitic sentiments. Even more significant is the fact that 50 percent of those polled were evasive or indifferent,

which means that, in addition to the avowedly anti-Semitic one-sixth, there is a considerable number of Germans in whom anti-Semitic feelings still exist but who apparently prefer not to display them openly. The fact that more than one-half of those polled denied having witnessed or heard (except from Jews) about the Nazi crimes against the Jews, and that over one-third of them held the figure of five million Jewish victims of Nazism to be a gross exaggeration must lead to the conclusion that there is insufficient realization among the German people of the terrible crimes committed against the Jews during the Nazi regime. A very important aspect of the report is that the representatives of the younger generation were groping for objectivity toward and understanding of the Jews and that they expressed the desire to form their own opinion and did not agree with the older generation, which is still under the influence of Nazi indoctrination.

There is a very wide-spread inclination in Germany to whitewash the German people of the crimes against the Jews, to prove that the concentration camps did not exist as the murder camps they were, that the gas chambers are a propaganda invention by the Allies and the Jews, and that the figures on the Jews murdered are a falsification for the purpose of receiving a larger amount of indemnification. Thanks to such propaganda, anti-Semitism is kept alive.

There are also quite a number of publishers who are notorious for publishing anti-Semitic and Neo-Nazi pamphlets, books, and periodicals.

D. The Jews in East Germany and in the East Sector of Berlin

1. Numbers, Geographical and Age Distribution

At the end of 1948 the number of Jews in East Berlin was estimated at about 1,500, and in the Russian zone at 2,000. The principal communities in the zone were in Leipzig (350 Jews), Erfurt (260 Jews), Dresden (200 Jews), and Schwerin (200 Jews).

In 1955 the best available estimates amount to 1,800 in East Berlin (of whom only 1,300 are membres of the Community) and 600 in East Germany. Besides Berlin, Jews are living in the following cities: Dresden, Chemnitz, Leipzig, Magdeburg, Halle, Erfurt, Schwerin, Muehlhausen, Gera, Jena, Eisenach, and Plauen. In most of these places the number of Jews is very small.

More than fifty per cent of the Jews in East Berlin are over 50 years old. There are about 110 children between 6 and 16 years of age and about 50 under 6 years of age; about 170 Jews are between 21 and 30 years old.

2. Economic Situation, Restitution

After the end of the war the Jews tried to rebuild their economic life and found work as artisans, skilled workers, officials, lawyers, physicians, and in business. Among the Jewish intellectuals active in public life were: Dr. Alfred Kantorowitz, professor at the East Berlin University; Dr. Ernst Bloch, head of the Department of Philosophy at the Leipzig University; Prof. Dr. Georg Kneppler, director of the East Berlin Music Academy; Dr. Ernest Mayer, professor of musical history. There were a number of Jewish authors, theatrical directors, composers, and directors of film companies.

A number of Jews (and non-Jews) who are recognized as "victims of Nazism" are receiving payment for loss of employment, liberty, and health during the Nazi reign. However, these payments are acts of grace by the state and there is no comprehensive compensation and indemnification legislation in existence for victims of Nazism similar to the laws in force in West Germany.

Soon after the war, the State of Thuringia enacted a law providing for the restitution of identifiable property. However, the provisions of this law (which was restricted, anyhow) were implemented to a small extent only, in favor of residents of the zone, and no other state in East Germany took steps to pass legislation in the field of restitution. (There, the provisions of the German Civil Code were invoked in certain instances, but

no return was made to absentees.) In a number of cases, real estate previously owned by Jews, which had been "aryanized" under the reign of Nazism, was taken away from the Nazi owner and put under public trusteeship in behalf of the former Jewish owner. However, in most cases this real estate was not returned to the legitimate Jewish owner but declared "property of the people," i.e., expropriated in favor of the East German State. The hope of Jewish owners to recover identifiable property or assets stolen from them by the Nazis has vanished.

Since the middle of 1952, and especially in connection with the events in January and February, 1953 (described below), the economic and occupational situation of the Jews has gradually deteriorated.

In many cases, small businessmen were forced to give up their shops, private ownership of which was considered not to be in line with the Communist policy. The former owners were sent to rural districts. Since most of them were physically unable to work as manual workers they became objects of public welfare. Even those still in business live with a feeling of great insecurity.

3. Attitude of the Regime

Officially, no anti-Semitism exists in East Germany and East Berlin. The Constitution of the German Democratic Republic declares acts of religious and racial hatred to be crimes punishable under criminal law. During the first years after the end of the war, high-ranking officials of the Government spoke in public addresses of the martyr death of millions of Jews, and history textbooks in East German schools told their readers about the killing of millions of Jews by the Nazis.

Of the members of the East German Parliament elected in 1950, fifteen were Jews, among them the famous writer and prominent Zionist Arnold Zweig, who served for several years as President of the Academy of Arts of East Germany; Dr. Victor Klemperer, professor at the University of Halle; Professor

Karl Polack, rector (chancellor) of the Leipzig University; Dr. Martin Hildebrandt, president of the Supreme Court in East Berlin, and the writer Ruth Adler.

However, since 1952—in line with the anti-Jewish trials in the East European countries, and especially the Slansky trial—an anti-Jewish attitude developed in East Germany and East Berlin, although it was not considered anti-Semitism, but called "anti-Zionism." Zionists—whatever this expresssion meant to the Communist public authorities—were in danger of arrest and punishment as enemies of the public order, and even in "lighter cases" they were subject to acts of economic discrimination. Many Jewish leaders and Jews in East German public positions who had lived during the war as refugees in the Western countries were removed from their posts and replaced by persons who had returned from Moscow. Secret questionnaires were reportedly sent by the Socialist (Communist) Unity Party to party officials and to leaders of workers associations to find out about positions occupied by Jews in cooperatives and associations. The League of Nazi Victims, which had protected the rights of Jews and non-Jews persecuted by the Nazis, was dissolved by the authorities as a "stronghold of Zionist and reactionary elements." A 33-member committee of "Anti-Fascist Resistance Fighters" was charged with the task of carrying on the activities of the League, to which most of the Jews in East Germany had belonged.

According to reports current at that time, during June, 1952, anti-Jewish action was gradually placed on a broader basis by the Russian occupation authorities and the Soviet secret police. Police agents were planted in Jewish communal organizations to find out the contacts of Jewish leaders. Jews who spoke Hebrew fluently were sought to attend services in synagogues and report on what was said by preachers and rabbis. During the following months, especially in December, 1952, several incidents of open anti-Semitism occurred. The word "Jew" apeared overnight on shop windows and homes of Jews. Jews were dismissed from their Jobs, at first small jobs, then

bigger jobs followed, until the Jews in the administration and the highest positions were reached. On January 4, 1953, the Central Committee of the East German Communist Party adopted a resolution in which Jews were accused of being Zionists, Trotskyists, imperialist American agents, Titoists, and cosmopolitans. At the same time, Jews were warned by Christian German friends and even through clandestine calls from the East German police that "it is still not too late to take a long vacation." The East German Communist press attacked Jews as Zionist anti-Communist conspirators who cooperated with Czech traitors like the Slansky group. At the same time a number of Jews were reported to have been arrested and transported to concentration camps. They were accused of doubting the "infallibility" of Stalinism, disputing Stalin's actions or interpretations of Marxism, and daring to place the concept of Judaism before that of Stalinism.

In consequence, East German Jews began to flee from the East to West Berlin, where they were received by the authorities as refugees, eligible for old-age pensions, sick benefits, and general assistance, and greatly helped by the West Berlin Jewish Community. Characteristically, the first to flee were old Communist "comrades," such as Dr. Leo Zuckermann with his family, who, two years before, had been under-secretary and chief of the chancellery of President Welheim Pieck of East Germany; once virtual assistant president of the Communist state, Dr. Zuckermann had in the meantime been demoted to a minor juridical post in Potsdam. On January 13 and 14, 1953, eight heads of Jewish communities in East Berlin, Leipzig, Halle, Erfurt, and Schwerin fled to West Berlin. By January 18, about 300 Jews had fled to West Berlin since December, 1952.

On January 18, a new anti-Jewish action was undertaken in East Germany and East Berlin. Homes and offices of Jews were reportedly searched by squads of Communist police, papers and identity cards were seized, and Jews ordered to stay close to their homes. These raids reached into virtually every East

German home of the Jewish survivors of Nazi extermination camps.

Significant, too, was the vilification of the Luxembourg Agreement between Israel and West Germany signed in September, 1952. The Communist press drew a comparison between the Prague trials and the restitution agreement. While the former "unmasked the fifth column of Zionism and the Wall Street billionaires," the agreement between Israel and "West German monopoly capitalists was engineered by the Americans in order to help the Israel bourgeoisie and to make the Adenauer State and the West German Nazis acceptable for inclusion in the framework of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization," the Communist press wrote. These concerted attacks combined to make the position of the Jews in East Germany more unbearable.

Stalin died on the fifth of March, 1953. Up to that date more than 500 Jews had fled from the Eastern zone and East Berlin, according to Rabbi Israel Goldstein, chairman of the Executive of the Western Hemisphere of the World Jewish Congress, who had gone to East Berlin to make an inquiry about the plight of the Jews in East Germany.

After Stalin's death, the anti-Jewish attitude abated. However, the harsh economic measures imposed at that time by the Communist authorities upon certain groups of the "bourgeoisie" and the cancellation of ration cards for self-employed wholesale and retail merchants, lawyers, tax consultants, apartment house owners, and hotel keepers, continued to make the life of Jews difficult. As a result, 90 Jews in March and 23 in the first half of April, 1953, fled from East Germany to West Berlin. Since then, there has been a steady trickle of Jewish refugees to the West. But inasmuch as those who remain in the East are mostly old, sick, and infirm and, therefore, not able to move, they have to bear their fate. In the meantime, the direct attacks and persecutions have abated and a small number of Jews removed from their posts have even been reinstated in minor public posts during 1955. Zionism, however, is still considered a crime.

4. Communal Life

Under the prevailing conditions, Jewish communal life in East Berlin and East Germany is weak. The East Berlin Jewish Community (which was previously part of the whole Berlin Jewish Community) is under a Jewish Central Committee, separated from the West. East Berlin's rabbi is Dr. Martin Riesenburger, who reports that religious life goes on without interference. Jewish religious instruction is given in special Jewish classes in Berlin, Dresden, Leipzig, and Erfurt. The ritual employed at synagogue services is generally that of Reform Judaism. Rabbi Riesenburger seems to be the only permanent rabbi in East Germany. The large Jewish cemetery at Weissensee in East Berlin which served until the end of 1952 as the burial place of the Jews of West and East Berlin, is now reserved for East Berlin Jewry exclusively. It is kept in good order. Kosher meat is being supplied to East Berlin by the Jewish Community of West Berlin.

The Communist authorities have, apparently under directives from the new Soviet leadership, started recently to show some friedliness toward the Jewish Communities. The Jewish Community of Halle rededicated its synagogue in the presence of Otto Nuschke, East German Deputy Prime Minister in charge of church affairs. One of the big synagogues in East Berlin, Ryke-Street, destroyed by the Nazis in 1938, was rebuilt and formally rededicated in the presence of Communist city officials, who in speeches hailed the rededication as a symbol of the East's attitude towards anti-Semitism. In Magdeburg the authorities gave a sum of money to the Jewish Community for rebuilding a synagogue.

D. The Future of the Jews in Germany

To many observers of the Jewish scene in Germany in the period under review, the conclusion appears inescapable that, despite the intensive social and cultural activities of the Jewish Communities in Germany, Jewry in Germany—at least in

any numbers worth mentioning—would cease to exist before long. Many Jewish leaders in Germany and foreign Jewish and non-Jewish observers regard the situation of the Jews in Germany as essentially hopeless. In addition, it is feared that Germany, on the way to become again a great military power, might become the center of a new wave of anti-Semitism, and that the Jews in Germany might have to live permanently on the top of a volcano. The Federal German Government in its above-quoted report *Deutschland Heute* ("Germany Today") stated that in spite of all new beginnings one could not speak of the existence of a German Jewry as it existed before 1933 and that the developments in the coming years would show if there was to be again an active German Jewry or if the Jewish community in Germany would die out in the space of two decades.

In the early years after 1945, the Jews living in Germany, both those originally of German nationality (who lived in the country as German citizens when Nazism came to power) and those who were "DPs" (i.e., those who were carried off by the Nazis from their homes to Germany as forced laborers or who were survivors of concentration camps) generally expressed the opinion that the best thing for them would be to leave the country. The reasons why they did not do so and still remain in Germany are manifold: too old, too sick, and too weary to emigrate, incapable of facing the ordeal of building a new life abroad, family and health reasons, etc. Some, among them those who have returned from Israel, would rather risk it in Germany than endure the hardships of pioneers in Israel.

There was, however, also an opposite view expressed, one of optimism about the future of Jewry in Germany, advanced by some leading Jewish personalities in the country, advocating a policy of renewed Jewish integration. They pointed to a "considerable decline" of anti-Semitism in Germany, the particularly good attitude of German youth, as well as the increasing number of positions occupied by Jews in German industry and trade and in German life generally, and also the consistently friendly attitude of leading members of the Federal Government. They

criticized those Jews who believed that it was impossible for the Jewish community to survive in West Germany, and asserted that the Jews remaining in Germany were determined to continue to build up an organized religious community in the country. A Jewish member of the West German Parliament stressed in 1954 the resurgence of Jewish sentiment among the Jews in Germany and the complementary fact that the Germans were eager to have the Jews back since they realized now what a tremendous cultural influence the small Jewish minority had on pre-war Germany. In spite of the still existing "invisible silken curtain" between Jews and Germans, this observer drew the conclusion that because of Germany's strategic, geographical, and cultural position in Europe, Jews would always be attracted to that country, and therefore he "definitely" thought that there was a future for the Jews in Germany.

Other observers have taken, even in recent times, a position midway between the two opposite views. They maintain that the negative view is based on biological reasoning as discussed above and on the fact that because of the incapability of both Jews and Germans to forget what happened in the past, the wall between them will continue to exist; consequently, whatever kind of life Jews will lead in Germany, it will always be one on a secluded island. To them this prevailing opinion cannot be influenced in the opposite direction by baptized Jews or Jews who live apart from the Jewish community and have completely merged with the German population, in many cases carefully hiding their Jewish origin. It is interesting to note that an important German weekly, *Die Zeit* of Hamburg, which discussed the question whether "the German Jews feel again at home" in a leading article in February, 1954, and dealt with the many aspects of the problem, gave the article the title "Hitler's shadow does not cease."

To look at the situation from the German side, it may be interesting to mention a study by the Press Information Department of the Federal Republic published in *Survey of German Affairs* of October, 1953, in which the situation in Frankfort-on-

the-Main was described. According to the Survey, Frankfort, one of the largest centers of Jewish population in pre-Hitler Germany, now harbors only a fraction. "There is missing," the Survey stated, "from this group of citizens creative artists, patrons of fine arts, scientists, a strong element among the audiences at theaters and concerts." "It has become only too evident how this efficient city—which has given new life to its historical activity—has become, generally speaking, 'provincial' in the intellectual sphere, despite many individual and splendid achievements." This fact should not be held against Frankfort: it is an inescapable aspect of Germany's fate, a consequence of the elimination of the Jewish element. "Comparable developments are evident in other cities, especially Berlin," the government's organ concluded.

This was said in October, 1953. It is interesting to note that the new official report *Germany Today* of 1955 contains the same statement in almost the same words.

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AUSTRIA

A. Demographic Situation

Since the establishment of the first Austrian Republic within the boundaries delineated by the Treaty of St. German (1919), its Jewry was, for all practical purposes, almost completely concentrated in Vienna. According to the last official census (1934) before the Anschluss, 176,000 Jews (approximately 92 per cent) lived in the capital, which thus harbored one of the largest Jewish communities in pre-Hitler Europe, while the other eight components parts (*Laender*) of the Federal Republic —which in recent centuries had always been practically *judenrein* —had an aggregate Jewish population of only 15,500. After the upheaval, the mass flight, the mass deportation, and the mass murder of Austrian Jewry during the period of the Nazi invasion (1938-1945), only about 2,000 survived in Austria and about 2,000 others returned immediately after liberation, mostly from the Terezin camp in Bohemia. In the next few years about 2,000 "trickled back" from Poland and Russia, some 1,200 from Shanghai, 1,000 from Israel, and about 1,100 from Great Britain and the United States. Some of them left again as soon as new emigration possibilities opened up, but the Jewish community was increased by a number of Jewish displaced persons who decided to settle in Austria, as well as by infiltrees from behind the Iron Curtain who came for the same purpose. Though all statistics of the Jews in Austria in the first postwar years must be taken with a grain of salt, it can be stated that there was a rapid rise of the Jewish population between 1945 and the end

of 1949, when the Jews numbered about 13,750, after which there ensued a decline, caused by a natural decrease and emigration which reduced their number to less than 10,000 by the end of 1954. It should be noted that, significantly, the reconstituted Republic extended an invitation to return only to a very limited group of its Jewish citizens abroad whose cooperaton, particularly during the period of the temporary disbarment of Nazi followers and collaborators, was urgently needed, namely, to actors, writers, and "academicians" (January, 1946). Obviously, the Austrians were not interested in attracting any other categories.

More than 9,000 Jews lived in Vienna at the end of 1954, a number which, although small in comparison with 1938, shows, nonetheless, a far greater density of the Jewish population than that of West Berlin, a city whose attractive power and position under Allied occupation was very similar to that of Vienna. Taking as a reliable basis the number of Jews eligible to vote in Jewish community election, we find that in West Berlin, with a total population of approximately 2.4 million, 4,200 were in this category (1955), as against 8,000 in Vienna (total population about 1.7 million) or, percentagewise, 0.175 and 0.47, respectively.

Some observers dealt with what seemed to them the extremely small number of Jews living in the Austrian provinces. In point of fact, however, the ratio of the Jewish population of the capital to that of the *Laender* appeared practically unchanged after the Nazi catastrophe; for, as we have seen, 91.9 per cent of the Jews were in Vienna in 1934 and 15,500 (8.1 per cent) outside the city. Twenty fateful years later the corresponding figures were: 9,100 (91.5 per cent) in Vienna and 847 (8.5 per cent) in the provinces. To be sure, the geographical distribution of the Jews in the *Laender* is no longer the same; whereas before the Anschluss a chain of small communities ran along the main line of communications from Bohemia-Moravia through Vienna to the South, ending at Graz (including the three largest outside Vienna, viz. Graz, Baden, and Moedling, the only ones with

more than 1,000 souls each), now the center of attraction is in the western part of the Republic, i.e., mainly in the former American zone of occupation (Salzburg, Linz, etc.) and, to a lesser extent, in the former French zone (Tyrol, Vorarlberg).

Writers on present-day Austrian Jewry have repeatedly expressed regret that it is a group of overage people and that the number of children is pitifully small. This is undoubtedly true, for during the years of the Jewish catastrophe the Jewish children perished together with their elders, unless they could escape. Accordingly, the number of Jewish children in Vienna receiving Jewish religious instruction dwindled from about 16,900 in 1934-35 and 15,700 in 1935-36 to only 246 in 1954, but increased to 290 in 1955. In 1935, a total of 2,394 children up to three years of age were counted among a Jewish population of 175,000; thus about 800 were born each year, or 4.57 per 1,000. In October, 1949, 626 children of the same age group lived in the capital. The average annual birth rate was therefore 200 in a Jewish population of 12,700, or 15.74 per 1,000, which is more than three times the rate before the Anschluss.

However, this favorable situation was short-lived and the most recent figures show a decline in the birth rate that surpasses even that of the Viennese population in general, which is regarded as the lowest in Europe (6.6 per 1,000). In the years 1952, 1953, and 1954, only 103 Jewish children were registered with the Jewish Community, representing an annual birth rate of only 3.6 per 1,000. During the same period 519 persons died.

It is difficult to arrive at reliable conclusions concerning the tendency to leave the Jewish fold. Inasmuch as under Austrian law membership in the Community is obligatory for all Jews unless the adoption of another faith or a declaration that one is an agnostic has been officially registered with the competent governmental authorities, exact figures are available but must be carefully interpreted in the light of the prevailing political and economic situation. The last years before the Anschluss can certainly not be regarded as normal in this respect. Thus, for example, during the period from 1932 to 1935, the actual

difference between those leaving and those joining the Jewish Community was subject to marked fluctuations (minus 515 in 1932,minus 26 in 1934). The annual average for these four years was 250, or about 0.14 per cent.

For the three years' period 1952-1954 the corresponding figures were: 457 (about 5 per cent) disassociating themselves from Judaism and 41 (about 0.5 per cent) joining the Community. The relative loss was therefore about ten times higher than twenty years ago. It must, however, be noted that this was the period of the Doctors' Case in Moscow and the Slansky trial in Prague and we may assume that most of the losses were due to the defection of Communists who tried to dissociate themselves from Jewry.

B. Economic Situation: Occupational Structure

In the first years after the war, the occupational structure of the Viennese Jews showed considerable change in comparison with 1938, but it is now clearly reverting to the old pattern. A survey of the Community tax payers reveals the following instructive figures:

	1938	1949	1955
Merchants and Artisans	52.0%	23.1%	50.2%
Employees and Workers	31.2%	27.7%	24.3%
Professionals and Public Servants .	9.4%	21.2%	7.2%

(The rest of the tax payers consist of persons who live on various kinds on pensions.)

All the Jews who survived the Nazi invasion and the displaced persons, as well as the majority of returnees and infiltrees, started life in liberated Austria practically penniless. A sizable part of the membership of the Community—those overage and incapacitated—is dependent upon public assistance and will obviously remain so. But, on the other hand, the economic rehabilitation of the Austrian Jews as a whole has evidently made rapid and highly satisfactory progress. It can easily be shown

that the economic picture of Austrian Jewry is by no means a dark one and that it even exhibits very encouraging features.

The percentage of today's taxpayers surpasses that existing at the time immediately before the Anschluss. Out of a total of 175,000 Jews in Vienna at the end of 1935, 48,000, or 27.42 per cent, had to pay the religious tax. Fourteen years later (1949) and with a Jewish population of 12,700, 3,400 Viennese Jews, or 26.77 per cent, had to pay it; the percentage had thus practically returned to the pre-Hitler level. (The figures for 1955 do not provide a basis for comparison, as meanwhile women have been admitted to full membership and franchise in the Community and, accordingly, are subject to taxation. There are now about 6,300—or 69 per cent—taxpayers, with men forming about 55 per cent of the total. This would put the number of male taxpayers at about 38 per cent.)

This optimistic view is fully borne out by a comparison of those in need of assistance from the Jewish Community. The official report on the activities of the *Kultusgemeinde,* submitted at the end of 1936 by the Board to the electorate, stressed that no fewer than 60,000, or 34.3 per cent (of a population of 175,000) had to be assisted with Community funds. In 1949 only 1,631, or 12.8 per cent (of 12,700), were needy, while in 1953 their number had further dropped to 670, or 7 per cent (of a total of 9,500). The percentage of recipients of Community aid is thus about one fifth of what it was in 1936.

The tremendous loss in numbers has, of course, eliminated any kind of legitimate Jewish influence on the Austrian scene. At the time of the German invasion, the Jews still formed about 2.8 per cent of the total population of the Republic, and nearly 10 per cent of that of the capital. Now one out of every 700 Austrians and 200 Viennese is a Jew. The role of the Jews in commerce and even more in industry is insignificant. In the cultural field, a survey on the fate of 30 Jewish university professors, issued shortly after liberation, revealed that only 6 were teaching again, while 3 had retired, 7 were dead, 7 "could not be located," and 7 lived abroad. Some high-ranking Jewish civil servants,

judges, etc., had opportunities to contribute to the rehabilitation of the country in the early postwar years, but most of them have since retired or died. When recently tribute was paid to men who had been instrumental in reviving a free Austrian press, three Jews were mentioned among the six thus honored. A number of Jews were active in the police forces but later on dropped, allegedly on account of their Communist affiliation. Nevertheless, in 1949 there were about 300 Jewish civil servants and public employees among the 3,400 taxpayers of the Community (excluding about 150 in the service of the Jewish Community itself); 140 physicians and dentists (formerly approximately 3,000), and 85 lawyers (formerly about 1,600).

In this connection, a word about Jewish students at Austrian institutions of higher learning may be in place. Prior to the Anschluss, these schools, in spite of violent anti-Semitism and other difficulties, attracted a considerable number of Jews, both from Austria and from abroad, those in Vienna alone being estimated at about 7,000. A detailed study, issued at the end of 1953, shows that the Jewish postwar generation is represented by only 228 (266 in 1949), of whom 89 were Austrian citizens, while of the remainder half were Israelis and half displaced persons. Nearly 200 studied in Vienna, 21 in Graz, 9 in Innsbruck. A hundred and two had to work in order to continue their studies, while 60 received grants from the Jewish Community or from the Joint. Among these students there were only 18 freshmen, while 80 were seniors. Nearly all of them desired to leave Austria after graduation and this trend was clearly reflected in the choice of their careers (medicine, technology, and natural science accounting for 162, with only two law students).

C. The Jewish Community; Jewish Organizational and Cultural Life

The law regulating the status of the Jewish Communities, promulgated in 1890, is still in force; it recognizes only the local Community as an institution of public law and does not grant

the same right to regional or state-wide Federations of Communities, which are regarded as private and voluntary organizations. On the other hand, the communal by-laws were always very broadly interpreted and this enabled the Communities to embark on extensive cultural, social, and charitable activities. After the recent war the Vienna *Kultusgemeinde* in particular played a decisive role in the distribution of food and of assistance in cash, as well as in the general rehabilitation of the Jews.

Following the liberation, Communists, who previously had never been represented on it, dominated the Community Board in Vienna, but had to yield the guiding influence to a group which maintains the closest ties with the general Austrian Socialist Party. Vienna, from which Herzl's call went out to the Jewish people, is one of the very few Jewish settlements where, in spite of the establishment of the State of Israel, Zionism has suffered a marked setback since the war. At the time of the Anschluss Zionists formed the strongest group within the Board and provided the President from their ranks. Now, since the Community elections of November 27, 1955, they hold only five out of 24 seats, while 13 seats are held by Socialists, 3 by Communists, and 3 by representatives of Orthodox Jewry. The disappearance of the autochthonous and wealthy element among Viennese Jews is reflected by the complete elimination of assimilationist liberalism from the Jewish political scene.

Interest in Community affairs is by no means weak, as may be demonstrated by the eager participation in communal elections. Thus, 65 per cent of the voters went to the polls in 1946, 66½ per cent in 1955, whereas only 50 per cent had cast their votes in 1932. Jewish public meetings are, as a rule, extremely well attended and capacity audiences of several thousands fill Vienna's largest halls on such occasions.

Zionist activities were resumed immediately after liberation, with 50 persons in attendance at the first meeting held in August, 1945. The Jewish sport club *Hakoah* was reconstituted even earlier (July, 1945). Today representative groups of all

Zionist parties participate in Zionist life, with Mapai and the General Zionists attracting the majority of adherents. They are supported by a Zionist students' association and by a branch of WIZO. Several Jewish periodicals, mostly Zionist, are devoted to the enlightenment of the Jewish public and championing of Jewish rights and interests.

D. Anti-Semitism

The last decade, with the Austrians still deeply shaken by their experiences during the period of total war and the collapse of the Nazi regime, and with the presence of the occupying powers, witnessed relatively few instances of openly anti-Jewish outbreaks, although latent anti-Semitism could be clearly felt in everyday life and in the practice of restitution and rehabilitation. Justified complaints were lodged concerning discrimination, at first in the distribution of food, later on in the granting of business licenses, and especially in the allocation of apartments. In Salzburg, a showing of a film, produced by the notorious Veit Harlan, resulted in clashes between Nazi-minded demonstrators and Jewish displaced persons. In several cases Austrian police were blamed for searches and arrests of an anti-Jewish character. Organizations in Western Austria tried to re-introduce the "Aryan paragraph" in their by-laws albeit for purely demonstrative purposes only. International interest was focused on the fight against the continued circulation of an ancient ritual murder legend by Catholic circles in Tyrol.

E. Conclusions

The decimation of the Jewish population through Nazi persecution can be judged by the fact that Vienna's Jewish Community, though reduced to a small percentage, but with a membership fluctuating around 10,000, still belongs to a group of fewer than a dozen Jewish settlements (among several hun-

dreds) which, this side of the Iron Curtain, and apart from London and Paris, form the largest local concentrations of European Jewry today.

In spite of the presence of a sizable group of overage people, new life is stirring and the establishment of sound economic foundations progressing. Viewed in the light of Jewish life in pre-war Austria—the only acceptable basis of comparison—the cohesion of the Jewish group and its participation in Jewish affairs may be viewed in a more favorable light than is frequently done.

The recently signed treaty restoring to the country its complete independence and assuring its future neutral status, will afford many economic and cultural opportunities and may well contribute to an increase of the Jewish population through returnees from abroad. It is possible that Austrian Jewry, at least temporarily (the returnees will mostly belong to the higher age brackets), may again reach or even surpass the 12,000 mark. On the other hand, the end of Allied occupation in Western Austria may result in the migration of the few Jews there either to Vienna or to foreign destinations.

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GREECE

A. Pre-War Conditions

The entire territory of present-day Greece was originally part of the Ottoman Empire. Until Greece proper gained her independance in 1821, an Imperial *Firman* prohibited the establishment of "strangers" (i.e., members of minorities groups) in Athens, although small Jewish groups had lived in the Peleponnesian peninsula since time immemorial. Salonika, on the other hand, flourishing under Ottoman rule as one of the Empire's most thriving centers of commerce and shipping, harbored an important Jewish community, composed of Sephardic refugees from Spanish oppression. Ceded to the kingdom of Greece as late as 1913 (in the Treaty of London, ending the First Balkan War), Salonika became the Jewish capital of Greece. To be sure, its Jewish population decreased substantially: in 1905, Jews formed the majority of Salonika's inhabitants (75,000 out of a total of 120,000), while at the beginning of the Second World War only 56,000 Jews dwelled among a quarter of a million. Jewish Salonika's most characteristic feature was the connection of a sizable group of its members with the maritime trades; the city was well-known for its Jewish sailors, lightermen, harbor workers and shipwrights. The city retained its position as the foremost Sephardic settlement in Europe.

Salonika's Jews worshiped in forty synagogues, named after famous extinct Jewish communities of Spain. Two dailies in Ladino served the interests of the community. Until 1928, Athens by comparison played a minor role on the economic scene and

its attractive power for Jewish settlement was accordingly less significant. Then, however, growing industrialization created new opportunities; thus, 4,000 Jews already lived in the capital in 1939. Altogether, 24 Jewish communities with a combined membership of approximately 75,000—80,000 existed in pre-war Greece, of which Corfu, Kavalla, and Komotine had 5,000 members each.

B. War, Invasion, and Deportations

When, in October, 1940, Mussolini's armies marched into Greece, they met with successful resistance. Greek Jewry's patriotic efforts were considerable. Three thousand three hundred Jews joined the armed forces, of whom 35 were killed; the community of Salonika, though faced with a critical economic situation, contributed important sums. A Jewish army officer, Col. Mordecai Freigy (Fritzis) commanded one of the Salonika regiments and died a hero's death in action. One of the captured Albanian towns was renamed in his honor and his deeds were celebrated wherever Jews still lived under freedom.

In May, 1941, however, the Nazi juggernaut rolled into Greece and quickly put an end to Greek independence. Salonika and the North became a German, and Athens and the Peloponnesian peninsula an Italian, zone of occupation, while other areas went to Bulgaria. This partition of Greece created quite different situations for the Jewish population in the territories concerned.

(1) *German and Bulgarian Zones of Occupation.*—The German invasion did not bring any immediate measures of discrimination against the Jews; they suffered, however, together with the others, from the famine in the winter of 1941-1942. In July, 1942, 2,000 young Jews from Salonika were sent to labor camps on Greek territory, under conditions which prompted the Jewish Community to sign an agreement with the Germans which was to liberate these slave workers against payment of the substantial amount of three billion drachmas (then equivalent to about 120,000 pounds). It is hardly necessary to add that the

Germans took the money, but never adhered to the terms of the agreement. They also destroyed the ancient Jewish cemetery of Salonika. In February, 1943, the ominous registration of all Jewish inhabitants was ordered and complied with and, subsequently, the wearing of the "Jew Star" was made obligatory and the Jews herded into three ghetto zones which, after the middle of March, they were forbidden to leave. Deportations to "unknown destinations" in the dreaded sealed trains started on March 14, 1943. They continued until the middle of May. During this time, 46,000 Jews from Salonika and 10,000 from Macedonia were carried off. In those parts of the country which the Nazis had given to their Bulgarian allies, the Bulgarian authorities—very considerate as far as the Jews of their own country were concerned—cooperated wholeheartedly with the Nazi overlords.

A sizable number of the younger Jewish generation, among them many longshoremen from Salonika, succeeded in joining the guerrilla forces in the mountainous parts of the country. Altogether, about 1,000—1,200 Jews fought in the ranks of these partisans whose activities, by the way, were clandestinely directed for two years since 1942, by a Jewish officer of the British army, Brig. (then Col.) C. W. Myers. Additional Jews found refuge in guerrilla-controlled areas, where schools for Jewish children reportedly existed in the mountains, as well as a Zionist weekly. The guerrillas were credited with smuggling many Jews out of the country who escaped to Palestine, among them 900 Thracian Jews who first fled to Turkey.

(2) *Italian Zone of Occupation.*—When, on March 1, 1941, the first Nazi troops arrived at the Greek-Bulgarian border, about 5,000 Jewish refugees from the North fled to Athens. Another wave of approximately the same size followed at the beginning of 1943, of whom the majority found shelter in the capital while the remainder scattered through Attica. The Italians manifested in their zone of occupation the same humane attitude which did them honor also in France and Yugoslavia. They protected the Jews in every possible way. The

Greek population in the old kingdom cooperated wholeheartedly in these efforts, encouraged by repeated appeals by their spiritual leader, Archbishop Theophil Damaskinos (later on, after liberation, Regent of Greece). However, after the collapse of Mussolini's regime, the Germans took over in Central and Southern Greece, too (September, 1943), and already on October 10, a general registration of the Jewish population was ordered. Only 350 complied; many others destroyed any means of identification, assumed Greek names, and, aided by the Greeks, went into hiding. However, living conditions under the occupation were so poor, that in Athens 250 Jews, mostly women and children, died of hunger.

The Germans did not molest the Jews in Athens and Attica until March 24, 1944, when all known Greek Jews (1,400) were suddenly arrested and subsequently deported. Six hundred managed to escape. Next day all Jewish citizens of neutral states (Turkey, Spain) were arrested. The Turkish Jews were repatriated, while about 300, claiming Spanish nationality, were transferred to Spain after having spent several months in a concentration camp in Hanover, Germany.

Reports on the fate of the deported Greek Jews which were pieced together after liberation revealed the following appalling picture: of 48,000 sent to the Oswiecim death camp in 1943, 45,000 were exterminated on the spot. One thousand were removed from Oswiecim to Warsaw in March, 1944, of whom 300—400 were later transferred to Dachau. One hundred were sent to Melk on the Danube in Lower Austria, of whom 65 were found in a pitiful state at the end of the war at Ebensee in Upper Austria, in a branch camp of Mauthausen. Two hundred came from Oswiecim directly to Mauthausen and, later on, also to Ebensee, of whom only 3 survived.

C. Situation at the Time of Liberation

"The death rate in Athens alone," wrote Spyros P. Skouras in his capacity as chairman of a Greek Relief Committee in the United States in November, 1944, "was as high as 500 persons

in a day . . . over 2 million persons . . . remain stricken with malaria and tuberculosis because of the lack of food and clothing." The value of Greek currency had dwindled to an exchange rate of 150 million drachmas for one U.S. dollar. Simultaneously, the country, just liberated from the yoke of the Nazi invader, was torn by civil war between conservative and Communist elements of the population. Of the remnant of Greek Jewry who had escaped deportation and now emerged from hiding, no fewer than 1,250 families were in a precarious state without shelter, clothing, or food. With all Jewish property spoliated, the immediate tasks of the first stage of rehabilitation seemed to pose insoluble problems, which were further aggravated by the arrival of young Jewish guerrillas who had been granted leave of absence in order to enable them to look for their relatives.

D. How Many Survived?

It is thus thoroughly understandable that under these conditions utterly conflicting reports as to the number of Jewish survivors filled the pages of Jewish newspapers for a period of more than a year. Estimates for the whole country fluctuated between 5,000 and 18,000; for Salonika, between 500 and 5,000; for Athens, between 200 and several thousands.

A series of circumstances caused this confusing uncertainty: the return from hiding was slow and gradual, reports from the mountainous districts on the mainland and from the Greek islands being difficult to assemble; while 2,000 actually came home from deportation, many more were originally expected to survive on the basis of shortlived unfounded rumors (for example, it was believed for some time that in Holland and Germany a sizable number of Greek Jews had been found); civil war prevented free intercourse between the areas held by the opposing forces; the Jews had purposely destroyed their identification papers during the Nazi invasion; finally, large-scale displacements and migrations within the country had taken place. Thus,

in June, 1945, Athens numbered among its Jewish inhabitants only 1,500 former residents; 1,500 were from Salonika, 500 from Epirus, and 500 from other provincial towns.

In July, 1945, Rabbi Elie Barzilai estimated that Salonika contained only 800—1,000 Jews; Volos, 1,000; Larissa, 850; Castoria-Florina, 300—400; Corfu only 80, and Janina 40—50. In February, 1946, the Central Board of the Jewish Communities of Greece finally issued an official report on the losses suffered by Greek Jewry and the surviving remnant. These figures were called "definitive," as repatriation had by now to be regarded as finished. Losses of the individual communities amounted in certain cases to 99 per cent (Xantie in Thrace); Salonika had only about four per cent of its former Jewish population (this decline partly caused by migration to Athens, etc.), harboring 1,950; Athens Jewish community, though numerically stronger than in pre-war days (4,950), was virtually the reception center for uprooted people from all over the country; in Corfu, 185 were to be found. Altogether, 87 per cent of the Greek Jews had perished and only 10,026 survived. Amidst this disaster one astonishing miracle had occurred: for reasons unknown, the 275 Jews on the island of Zante had escaped persecution; not a single person was missing.

The particular circumstances prevailing in Greece had favored the survival of men; 65 per cent of the survivors were males, only 35 per cent females. One thousand and five hundred children were found alive, among them many orphans and half-orphans (380—1,000). Three hundred of the children were ill.

E. Rehabilitation of Greek Jewry

The political unrest in Greece during the first years after liberation, repeated changes in the governmental setup, and a protracted economic crisis added serious difficulties to the already difficult task of rehabilitating the Jewish population. As a specific feature of the Greek scene, the tortuous way in which pertinent legislative measures were treated, cannot be ignored.

(1) *Restoration of Rights.*—This first became evident in the field of restoration of Jewish rights. Though it was announced as early as October, 1944, that "the first act of the Government" would consist in the abolishment of the anti-Jewish laws, the Regent Archbishop Damaskinos (the benefactor of Greek Jewry during the occupation) together with the then Prime Minister Gen. Plastiros pledged equal rights for Jews in the following January. However, when the Regent received a delegation from the Jewish Community of Salonika on February 28, 1945, he promised again the abrogation of the Nazi racial legislation. At the end of March, 1945, this basic step was taken, as all Jewish Reserve Officers were recalled to duty by the Ministery of War.

(2) *Rehabilitation Proper (Relief).*—Beset with urgent troubles, the Government treated even the repatriation of the Jewish deportees in a dilatory way. Social Welfare Minister Petres Levantis promised in March, 1945, the facilitation of their return, but in July of the same year Deputy Prime Minister Kyriakos Varvaressos declared in connection with the issue of repatriation: "In this country the problems of Jews and Christians are similar, so we plan no special treatment for Jews."

Under these conditions it was already considered a most encouraging sign of governmental benevolence when the Governor General of Macedonia declared that rent would be paid for occupied (Jewish) community buildings in Salonika and that these amounts could be used for relief purposes. Thus, in the first period after liberation (1944–1950), Greek Jewry was completely unable to help itself and Jewish organizations from abroad (mainly the Joint, the British Relief Unit, the Jewish Agency, and the Red Mogen Dovid) had to shoulder the heavy burden of rehabilitation. A Central Relief Committee was founded with the assistance of the Joint. An orphanage and homes for girls, convalescents and the aged were established, a Tuberculosis Association founded, and the Jewish Hospital in Salonika reopened. In February, 1949, the first ORT vocational and technical

training school in Greece started its activities. By December 1 of that year, the Joint assumed sole responsibility for relief and welfare programs in Greece, to be administered by the Central Board of Jewish Communities. The Joint also granted loans for the reestablishment of Jews in the economic field. In 1950, after a settlement concerning Jewish heirless property had been reached with the Greek Government, a Foundation for Relief and Rehabilitation of Greek Jews began gradually to assist the Jewish communities which, until that time, had completely depended upon foreign aid. As a result of these encouraging changes, the Joint was able to end its operations in Greece in August, 1950, after the successful rehabilitation of the Greek Jews.

The process of recovery had been slow and painful. A report of September, 1946, described 40 per cent of the Jewish population (mostly women, children, and sick people) as "absolutely needy," another 40 per cent (mostly remnants of the former middle class) as earning less than their food expenses, 15 per cent as able to pay for their daily food and thus partly rehabilitated, and only 5 per cent as economically self-sufficient. A survey, published in August, 1947, gave the following picture of the economic structure of Greek Jewry: 500 merchants, 260 small tradesmen, 240 peddlers, 320 workers, 576 white collar workers, 10 farmers, 54 civil servants, 40 physicians and dentists, 12 lawyers, 24 engineers, 10 agronomists. At the end of 1949, substantial improvement of the economic situation was reported, which, however, was obviously restricted to certain strata of the Jewish population. As late as June, 1954, the Central Board pointed out that a great number of the survivors continued to live on a "subhuman level," with families of 8-9 members crowded into one room and with a monthly subsidy of 2-3 U.S. dollars.

It should also be mentioned that the process of rehabilitation was locally slowed down or interrupted through a series of earthquakes which ravaged the country in 1953 (Zakynthos in the Ionian Islands), 1954 (Karditsa, Trikala, Volos), and 1955 (Volos). Some Jews were killed, more were injured, and many

made homeless. These disasters compelled many of the victims who otherwise would have stayed, to apply for immigration visas.

(3) *Resumption of Jewish Life.*—In October, 1944, the first religious services were held in the hastily reconsecrated synagogue of Athens. On the first day after the German evacuation, about 200 Jews warily made their way to the synagogue premises, followed by others from the city and its surroundings. This large synagogue, built in 1938 and restored to its former splendor, was described by an American visitor in 1953 as "magnificent," though at that time only 50 persons attended Sabbath services. In 1951, Salonika, once the city of forty synagogues, had only one chapel. There was a serious lack of spiritual leaders, though Rabbi Abraham Schreiber (Sofer) of Jerusalem had accepted a call as Chief Rabbi of Greece as far back as October, 1947. He visited the provinces and reported that in Patras he found the Talmud Torah re-organized and instruction given five hours a week, but there was no professional teacher nor *shochet* there. The miraculously saved community of the Island of Zante still observed strictly all religious precepts and practices, and, owing to the lack of a *shochet,* abstained from eating meat. In Corfu only one (of formerly four) synagogues—the most ancient—had survived but was threatened with demolition in the course of the rebuilding of the town. A *chazan, shochet* and *mohel* were functioning there and the Talmud Torah (with a woman teacher) was open.

In 1946, two Jewish schools existed (one each in Athens and Larissa) with Greek and Hebrew as languages of instruction; they were attended by 50—60 pupils but their number was gradually decreasing. The total number of Jewish children of school age at the time was estimated at about 1,000, and 100 Jews attended institutions of higher learning. Athens had a Jewish weekly, Salonika a bi-weekly, both printed in Greek, as all Hebrew printing plants had been destroyed and not a single Jewish printer was alive. In 1947, it was reported that only few intermarriages took place and that, in such cases, conversion to Judaism by the non-Jewish spouse was not uncommon. Seven

years later (1954), however, intermarriage already played a far greater role and assimilation was, in general, on the increase. Lack of rabbis resulted in a general apathy to religious affairs. Provincial Jews, in order to attend High Holiday services, had to travel to the few large communities. In Salonika, this situation was described as "almost catastrophic," there being no rabbis, no kashrut, no Sabbath or holiday services in the former capital of Greek Jewry. The most outstanding communal building, the Baron de Hirsch Hospital, was requisitioned by the Government after its evacuation by British troops in the summer of 1950. Protracted and difficult negotiations about its sale commenced which were concluded at the beginning of 1951, with the Government paying the sum of $215,000 for its acquisition.

Fifteen tons of Jewish archives and publications, carried away by the Germans, were returned in the summer of 1947.

The traditional way of life was severely threatened by the introduction of a new Civil Code which abolished the *Beth Din* amid Jewish protests.

Nearly all Greek Jews were Sephardim, with the exception of about 100 Ashkenazim.

When still in exile in Cairo (December, 1944), the Greek Government had issued a decree for the restoration of the Jewish Communities of Athens and Salonika. More extensive and detailed regulations on community organization were laid down in Law #367, promulgated on June 7, 1945, which distinguished between "completely" and "partially" re-organized Communities with different forms of provisional administration and a different scope of authorization. A provisional Central Council of Jewish Communities was also set up whose tasks were defined as the coordination of communal efforts in the field of economic and cultural rehabilitation of their members, representation of Greek Jewry before authorities and world Jewish organizations, and the distribution of foreign relief contributions. Communities with fewer than 20 families were regarded as "inactive." The law was only provisional, which later prompted Greek Jewry to demand its replacement by definitive regulations. By June, 1945,

eight Communities were in different stages of reorganization; by November, 1946, twelve. By December, 1947, five were completely reorganized, eleven partially, and nine remained inactive. Finally, in April 1950, a Central Board could be duly elected by a Consultative Assembly of Representatives of the Jewish Communities of Greece. In October, 1951, the Central Board requested the promulgation of laws which would ratify the status of the Communities and recognize the Board as the representative body of Greek Jewry. Under postwar conditions the capital had emerged as the main stronghold of Judaism in the country. At the first communal elections in Athens (1946), the Jewish party of "Vitalists" won a majority of the seats (29 out of 50) and the Community's Administrative Board was composed exclusively of "Vitalists." This situation remained practically unchanged when the Jews of Athens again went to the polls in 1950: 28 Vitalists, 14 Zionists, and 8 representatives of the Jewish Rehabilitation Party were elected.

(4) *Restitution of Property.*—The destruction of all evidence of their identity and the assumption of non-Jewish names during the period of Nazi persecution provided additional obstacles to the restitution of property. With the exception of real estate, little prospect of property being returned was held out at the end of 1944. The loss of assets, both individual and communal, was considerable. In Salonika alone 2,500 private enterprises had been alienated. The pre-war value of buildings in the possession of Greek Jewish Communities was estimated at 400,000 gold pounds. To be sure, legislative acts in the field of restitution of property were not lacking and two laws (#44, October 26, 1944, and #337, May 20, 1945) concerned the "Abolishment of Anti-Jewish Laws . . . and the Restitution of Jewish Assets." These were followed by another one (#808, December 31, 1945) with more detailed regulations. The Government, however, was reluctant to intervene with proper energy. Moshe Shertok (Sharett) said in April, 1945, that the Greeks "would look into the matter," and that the Greek expropriation laws were still in force in Salonika (where,

in fact, they were abolished as late as June, 1945, seven months after this had been done in the old kingdom). A spokesman of the Government, the Undersecretary of the Ministry of Finance, M. S. Pesmatjoglou, confirmed Mr. Shertok's statement and promised abrogation of the Nazi expropriation legislation after the end of the war in Europe, conditional upon the creation of an autonomous board for the administration of heirless Jewish property. After another pledge of full restitution had been made by the same high-ranking official, jointly with the Governor General of Macedonia, Pesmatjoglou told a representative of the American Join Distribution Committee that people in possession of Jewish assets who were reluctant to return them to their rightful owners, would be prosecuted. However, in November, 1946, the Jewish Telegraphic Agency reported that "restitution had stopped completely in Greece." Of 200 applications made at the beginning of the year, only 50 had been approved owing to the pressure brought upon the Government by interested parties. In short, Greek restitution legislation remained for a painful period a dead letter, though it was, on paper, a model for other European countries. Eventually, however, the situation improved.

(5) *Heirless Property.*—It goes without saying that even more difficulties arose as to the ultimate disposal of heirless Jewish assets, though, already in August, 1945, the Government had decided to transfer such properties to a special organization for the rehabilitation of Greek Jewry. Indeed, on January 17, 1946, the Regent ratified a law (#846, "On the Abolishment of the Right of Succession of the State regarding Jewish Heirless Property and on the Cession of Same to a Special Body for Relief and Rehabilitation of Jews in Greece Who are Survivors of Nazi Persecution") along these lines. It was duly promulgated on January 26, thus making Greece the first of all countries to do so. This legislative act was followed, on March 31, 1946, by a decree implementing Law #846. But all this remained on paper only, being presently repealed. The Minister of Justice in another cabinet, Hadjipanos, promised in November, 1946, that legisla-

tion would again be introduced which would turn over the heirless property to a Committee of Nine, appointed by the Federation of Jewish Communities. Nothing, however, happened and Finance Minister Helmis was reported, in May, 1947, as procrastinating. Simultaneously, the Government refused to transfer heirless assets to the Jews of Salonika. In October, 1947, the Central Board was appointed "administrator" of heirless property, but, a year later, it was reported that "representations have now been made on the question of the recent official pronouncement . . . contradicting legislation awarding to the surviving remnant the property of those Jews who had perished in the deportation." In January, 1949, the Government imposed a tax of 50 per cent on heirless property, leaving the valuation to the tax collectors, while the three-year old law was still not implemented. Two months later, the Government finally "agreed in principle" to implement the 1946 law and shortly afterwards it decided to establish "within the next two weeks" the administrating foundation. At the same time, the tax was reduced to 25 per cent. On March 27, King Paul signed the enabling decree which was published in the Official Gazette on April 4. The value of the property thus restored to Jewish ownership was variously estimated at between 2 and 5 million dollars. In accordance with the regulations of the law, an Executive Decree was issued on March 29, 1949, creating a "Foundation" as a Successor Organization. The decree stipulated that the seat of the new body was to be Athens and bestowed on it the status of a juridical person under the supervision of the Ministers of Finance and Cults and National Instruction. An Administrative Council of Nine was to be elected by the Assembly of Jewish Communities. The funds transferred to the Foundation were to be used for assistance to, and rehabilitation of, Jewish survivors of Nazi persecution who were settled permanently in Greece on September 1, 1939 (commencement of the Second World War).

In November, 1949, the First "Congress" of the Foundation was held and the Committee of Nine elected; by that time branch offices of the Foundation had already been established

in Salonika, Larissa, and Kavalla, and all administrators and trustees of heirless property had been ordered to hand it over. At the same time, though little progress was reported, 1,400 out of a total of 2,000 pieces of property had been regained in Salonika and, over a period of four months, an income of $5,000 collected. In 1951, the annual income of the Foundation was estimated at 17,650 pounds, of which 60 per cent were spent for administrative purposes. In 1952, an agreement on the distribution of the assets was arrived at by Greek Jewry and world Jewish organizations, mediated by the World Jewish Congress. In 1954, Jewish sources in Greece maintained that not more than 500,000 dollars could be realized over a period of 5-7 years, after "ratification" through a new law, from the sale of assets under Foundation control. Pertinent legislation was again delayed, as the Minister of Finance tried to introduce unfavorable amendments, particularly a provision preventing any use of Foundation income or assets for the rehabilitation of Greek Jews now living outside Greek territory.

The Jews of Greece also claimed ownership of a gold treasure, valued at six million dollars, looted by the Germans and, later on, recovered by the Allies. The World Jewish Congress intervened in this matter with the U.S. Department of State and the Tri-Partite Commission in Brussels, which has not yet handed down a decision.

(6) *Migration.*—It is understandable that under conditions prevailing in Greece, many of the surviving Jews tried to rebuild their shattered lives in other surroundings, notably, of course, in Israel. As early as July, 1945, the newly reorganized Zionist Organization of Greece asked for 600 immigration certificates for destitute young girls and orphaned children. In June, 1949, Greek Jews of military age were permitted to go to Israel. This permission was later on made conditional upon renunciation of nationality and a declaration that the emigrants would never again return to Greece and take all the members of their families with them. Thereupon, many young men of military age left, particularly from Salonika. Between 1946 and May 15, 1948, 982

Greek Jews migrated to Palestine, to which must be added 1,161 who succeeded in reaching the Jewish Homeland during the war years (1939-1945). According to official Israel figures since the foundation of the Jewish State, 1,540 Jews from Greece arrived there between May 15, 1948, and the end of 1949; 343 more in 1950, 122 in 1951, 46 in 1952, and 71 in 1953. Altogether 2,309 had come by the end of 1955. The total number of Greek Jews who have immigrated to Israel since the outbreak of the Second World War is thus about 4,300. Simultaneously, some of them applied for admission to other countries; it is significant that they made applications for immigration visas to the U.S. as "displaced persons." In September, 1953, after the new American immigration law had been adopted, the Joint reopened its emigration office in Athens. At that time, there were still 7,000 Jews in Greece and many of them had expressed a desire to go to America.

F. Involvement of Greek Jewry in the Political Fight in Greece

During the first years after the German evacuation, the civil war in Greece and its aftermath markedly affected the process of rehabilitation. As mentioned above, a sizable number of Jews had found a refuge and opportunities for active cooperation among the guerrillas who, later on, went over to the Communist camp. Thus, Greek Jewry as a whole was condemned either as "EAM sympathizers or as ELAS conspirators." They were caught in the political cross fire between the two factions. This situation was still worsened by the penetration of Nazi racial propaganda even into the very ranks of the partisans. In January, 1945, many Jews were still held in Greek jails and British concentration camps in Africa as ELAS partisans, later on to be deported to the Aegean Islands. It was only in August, 1948, that the then Security Minister Constantine Rendis issued a special order clarifying the position of Jews who had served in ELAS units; he pointed out that they should not be classified

as Communists since, during the Nazi invasion, they were compelled to flee to the hills. Individual persecutions, however, continued: in May, 1949, a Jew, Meir Itzhak Levy, was executed in Larissa, following condemnation by a military court for having been in contact with the guerrillas. Death sentences were also passed on two other Jews in Volos for the same reason, and one was immediately executed. In this trial, there were four Jews among 36 defendants. The other two Jews received life sentences. Later on, five Jews sentenced to death and 21 imprisoned on an island, were released upon condition of leaving for Israel and renouncing their Greek citizenship.

It is symptomatic of conditions during the civil war that in December, 1948, Jewish children were systematically evacuated from the strife-torn areas of the Florina and Patras districts in northern Greece as well as from Thessaly. The Joint agreed to maintain them at the Jewish orphanage in Athens.

On the other hand, Greek Jews gradually resumed their interest in the national political scene. While, in 1947, a reliable Greek-Jewish source maintained that Jews were not yet inscribed as members of political parties (with the exception of a small number who adhered to the Communist movement) and that there were no Jewish political leaders anywhere, in the general elections of 1951 several Jews ran for public office, but were all defeated at the polls. In June, 1955, the Central Board of Jewish Communities unanimously adopted a motion supporting *Enosis,* the Cypriotes' movement for reunion with Greece.

G. Lingering anti-Semitic Sentiments

In spite of the unrest in the country, the civil war, periods of serious economic strain, and, as everywhere in formerly German-occupied areas, the impact of several years of Nazi propaganda, the Greek people refrained, as a rule, from indulging in anti-Jewish activities, which were confined to minor and local incidents.

In February, 1945, clashes occured at the universities of

Athens and Salonika between Christian and Jewish students. This was followed, in the summer of the same year, by terrorist acts against Salonika Jews, perpetrated by an anti-Semitic and Fascist group, *Epsilon Epsilon,* by a press campaign in the paper *Parotino Ora* ("Morning Hour") and by attacks by an anti-Semitic leader, Kosmotopoulos, who tried—not without success—to stir up hostility against the return of Jewish assets. It goes without saying that Jewish partisans were also made the object of press attacks, as, for example, in the newspaper *Ellinkos Barras.* It was also noted that the French Institute in Athens disseminated anti-Jewish propaganda during the Nazi occupation and continued these activities after liberation.

A report of August, 1947, stated that feelings toward the Jews were indifferent in Athens, but hostile in Salonika and Janina, as a result of the restitution issue. No anti-Jewish discrimination was observed at that time in public educaton and in state-administered relief. On the other hand, not a single new appointment of a Jew to a civil service post had been made and there was a trend to oust the surviving Jewish officials, appointed before the war. Veiled hostility was ascribed to the lower echelons of the administration, while the higher civil servants remained indifferent.

In 1949, what still remained of the ancient Jewish cemetery in Salonika was to be leveled and the tombstones used for the repair of the city's sea wall. Anti-Semitic leaflets were distributed in the same locality by an "Orthodox Organization of Young Christians" (March, 1949). The Jewish Community sent a delegation to the Metropolite of Salonika who told the latter that the group was mythical and that the Church decidedly dissociated itself from this kind of propaganda. During the election campaign of 1951 the newspaper of the Greek Rally Party, led by Greece's strong man, Field Marshal Papagos, attacked the return of heirless property to Jewish ownership in view of alleged pressure brought to bear on Greek occupants of buildings subject to restitution.

Another issue arose over regulations governing election procedures in Salonika, issued in 1946, under which the Jews had to cast their votes at special Jewish polling places. Thus, for all practical purposes, the constitutional guarantees for a secret vote were abolished for the Jews. Once again, Jewish protests met with procrastination. Though these regulations were reported as having been abrogated in January, 1950, they reappeared in the new electoral law, promulgated briefly afterwards. In March, the 600 Jewish voters of Salonika were assigned to three, instead of the former two, special Jewish polling places but finally this discriminatory measure was abolished. In 1947, the Exchange Commission of the Bank of Greece refused the issuance of foreign travel permits to Jewish citizens.

The treatment of foreign Jews who happened to be on, or to pass through, Greek territory sometimes gave reason for justified complaints. Thus, in the fall of 1946, and on later occasions, leaders of the World Jewish Congress urged the then Prime Minister Tsaldaris to ensure safety for thousands of non-Greek Jews in Greece in transit to Palestine. The following year governmental regulations were issued prohibiting Jews of all nationalities passing through Greece to leave the port or airdrome between ships or planes.

YUGOSLAVIA

A. Introductory

In the Kingdom of Yugoslavia, according to the official census of 1931, there lived 76,000 Jews, of whom about 47,000 were Ashkenazim and 29,000 Sephardim. The first group, comprising as it did about two-thirds of Yugoslav Jewry, was mainly concentrated in those parts of the country which, until 1918, had been under Hapsburg rule: Croatia, Slavonia, the Banat, and Voivodina. Sephardic traditions, on the other hand, characterized Jewish life in those areas which originally had belonged to the Ottoman Empire: Serbia, Bosnia, Herzegovina, and Macedonia. Zagreb in Croatia was then the largest Jewish community of the country (12,300 members), with Belgrade, capital of the old kingdom of Serbia and of Yugoslavia (12,000 Jews) and Sarajevo in Bosnia (8,100) in the second and third places among 117 Kehilloth. Ten years later, at the time of the German invasion (1941), the number of Yugoslav Jews approximated 76,000.

Shortly after the foundation of the Yugoslav Kingdom (1918), a Jewish central body, the Council of Jewish Communities, was established in 1921 and recognized by the authorities as the official representative of both Jewish rites alike, with only a small strictly Orthodox group keeping aloof.

In Serbia, full equality had been granted to the Jews in the Constitution of January 2, 1889 (they numbered only about 6,500 as late as 1905), while those who were then living in Austria or Hungary had seen all civil disabilities removed about twenty years earlier.

The economic lot of the Yugoslav Jews in pre-war times was far from uniform: in Serbia they belonged mostly to the well-to-do middle classes; those in Croatia, Slavonia, and Voivodina were even further ahead and played an important part in commerce, industry, and the professions. These Jews were the most modern-minded in Yugoslavia and, accordingly, assimilation was even more advanced. In Bosnia, Jews were particularly active in the lumber industry, but otherwise middlemen and traders; in the Herzegovina, they were mostly artisans and in a lower economic position, while in Macedonia, poverty and lack of education prevailed among the Jews.

In old Serbia anti-Semitism was practically unknown, but with the acquisition of Croatia (1918), anti-Jewish propaganda also made its appearance in Serbia.

B. Disaster Strikes

While the existing anti-Jewish feelings might have provided some fertile soil for Nazi Germany's large-scale campaign against the Yugoslav Jews in the years following 1933, the paramount source of pressure came from the economic domination of Yugoslavia by the Third Reich, through the absorption of over 50 per cent of Yugoslav exports of armaments and other essential goods, and the acquisition, after the seizure of Czechoslovakia, of large Czech capital investments in Yugoslavia.

As everywhere else, foreign Jews became the first victims of racial indoctrination: in February, 1940, some Jewish refugees on Yugoslav soil were arrested and interned in camps which the local Jewish organization had to maintain. But the Jewish citizens of the country, too, were soon to be subjected to restrictions and persecutions. In the first extra-legal period (July-October, 1940) state and municipal contracts were withheld from Jewish businessmen, the tax system was operated to their detriment, and Jews in official positions (about 400) were quickly ousted. Finally, in October, 1940, a series of decrees were enacted which resulted in the introduction of a *numerus clausus* in all institutions of higher learning, the exclusion of

Jews from the wholesale food trade (state trustees being appointed for the administration), and their exclusion from printing plants, publishing houses, newspapers, and book stores.

These measures were strongly protested by a sizable majority of the Serbs which included high-ranking governmental officials (also members of the Cabinet), leading personalities of the Greek Orthodox and Roman Catholic Churches, and intellectuals. The progress of the war, however, particularly the invasion of Greece, compelled Yugoslavia to take sides openly and on March 25, 1941, the country became a member of the Axis, which was immediately followed by mass arrests of political foes of Germany and of many Jews. But two days later, on March 27, the Yugoslav people rose in indignation against the alliance with Germany and Italy. An anti-Axis government was formed which immediately suppressed anti-Semitic newspapers and promised the abrogation of all anti-Jewish measures. Before this could be implemented, however, the German juggernaut rolled into Yugoslavia on April 6. The armed forces of the country bravely resisted the invader, but were quickly defeated and capitulated on April 18. Strong forces of Yugoslav guerrillas, however, among them a sizable number of Jews (about 3,000), continued the fight until the hour of liberation struck four years later. Many of the Jewish fighters excelled in combat and 12 of them became "national heroes."

The Germans ripped Yugoslavia asunder and partitioned its territory into seven distinct areas. Serbia was reorganized under a totalitarian puppet regime and, like part of the Banat, was German-occupied (these areas contained about twenty-five per cent of Yugoslav Jewry); the major part of Croatia together with Bosnia and Herzegovina (with about thirty-five per cent of the total Jewish population) was made an "independent" state under the leadership of the local quisling Ante Pavelic; another twenty per cent of Yugoslav Jewry, living in the Backa and Voivodina and in a part of the Banat, now found itself under Hungarian rule, while the remaining twenty per cent in Macedonia fell to Bulgaria. The other three

parts originally had very few, if any, Jews (Dalmatia, parts of Croatia and Slovenia annexed by Italy, parts of Slovenia incorporated into Germany, and Montenegro), but that allotted to Italy soon attracted Jewish infiltrees from Croatia and Serbia who sought refuge under the more humane Italian administration. About 5,000 of them reportedly crossed the border with the passive or active assistance of Italian soldiers.

Anti-Jewish persecution in the German-occupied parts started with mass killings and jailings in the Banat on April 10, 1941, even before general anti-Jewish legislation was promulgated. By August 20, all surviving Banat Jews, had been transferred to Belgrade. In October, 4,000 Jews were murdered in Belgrade, 2,000 more in November, and others deported to Poland, leaving only a local Jewish population of 250. By the summer of 1942, none were left there, and in the fall the Jewish Section of the Gestapo was closed down as there were no Jews within its operating area. Before the killings and deportations, all Jews were subjected to compulsory labor service. Moreover, a collective fine of 10 million dinar (at that time equivalent to about $200,000), payable in two instalments on June 10 and 20, was imposed on the Jews of Belgrade. In spite of all the propaganda of the enemy, however, the majority of the Serbs remained sympathetic to their Jewish fellow citizens; the invader found collaborators only among a small group of Serbian Fascists, as well as among *Volksdeutsche* and the Yugoslav Moslems.

Croatia, made an "independent" puppet state of the Axis on April 10, 1941, quickly became the graveyard of the local Jews. Under the ruthless leadership of Pavelic and his army chieftain "Marshal" Kvaternik (both of whom had Jewish wives), racial laws were introduced on April 30, with wholesale confiscation of Jewish assets already in full swing. All Jews under 65 years were soon interned and large groups of them sent to isolated Dalmatian Islands to perish there in labor camps. The majority of the Croatian Jews were massacred on the spot, with deportations to foreign destinations playing only

a minor role in the blueprint of destruction. The State Office dealing with the "solution of the Jewish question," was liquidated in February, 1942, only ten months after the invasion, for lack of work. In May of that year, there were still 6,000 Jews in Croatia, all deprived of their citizenship; but in the spring of 1943, only a small portion remained there (1,000 in Zagreb, of whom 400 were then suddenly arrested and deported during one night).

In the Hungarian zone, expulsions, internments, and executions began soon, but the situation in Serbia and Croatia had in the meantime deteriorated to such a degree that Jews from there infiltrated into Hungarian territory. Later on, however, wholesale massacres commenced in Hungary, too, and finally all the Jews—both natives and refugees—were enmeshed in the general fate of provincial Hungarian Jewry.

The Bulgars, decent in the treatment of their own Jews, started persecutions in newly-occupied Macedonia, under German pressure, in June, 1941. The Bulgarian Government was only a reluctant participant, but gave full freedom of action to a notorious bandit, Vancho Mihaloff, leader of the dreaded "Black Corps," who had returned from exile in Germany. A number of Jews were exiled to the Bulgarian-held island of Thasos in the Aegean. In 1943, deportations to Poland commenced which, by the end of May, had made Macedonia *judenrein.*

As already noted, the Italian zone of annexation attracted Jewish refugees from oppression. Those who succeeded in crossing the border were well treated. Only those without any means and the politically suspect were interned, but under humane conditions and without being subjected to compulsory labor.

C. Jews in the New Yugoslavia

(1) *The First Period: After the Liberation.*—It is estimated that some 60,000 to 64,000 Yugoslav Jews (about 80 per cent of the total pre-war Jewish population) perished during the four-

year period, 1941-1945. Nearly all of the 4,000 Jewish slave laborers, taken along by the Germans in their retreat, perished.

Altogether, about 15,000 survived, 13,500 of them on Yugoslav soil (nearly 9,000 in local concentration camps, and 2,500 in the Italian-occupied parts of the country). One thousand five hundred had been fortunate enough to reach other havens of refuge.

The survivors flocked to the major cities: shortly after liberation (the capital was freed on October 20, 1944, but the last enemy forces did not leave the country before the end of the European war in May, 1945), 70 per cent were concentrated there, with Belgrade harboring 2,300 Jews, Zagreb 2,200, Sarajevo 1,400, Subotica 1,200. Sephardim and Ashkenazim now formed about one-half of Yugoslav Jewry each.

The Federation of Jewish Communities and the Belgrade Jewish Community started immediately their activities in the fields of relief and culture. Fifty-six of the 117 pre-war Kehilloth were reorganized; these now included not only Ashkenazim and Sephardim but Orthodox and Neolog Jews as well.

The first contact with Jews abroad was established at the end of June, 1945, when a delegation of the Belgrade Community arrived in Bucharest to secure relief from the American Jewish Joint Distribution Committee. This step was necessitated by the grievous plight of the survivors: all Yugoslav Jews were destitute; 500 people were sick, disabled, or old. With the assistance of foreign Jewish organizations, particularly the Joint, shelters were opened in some larger communities and particular care devoted to the children. The Yugoslav Government contributed about a quarter of a million dollars, and the Jews also benefited from UNRRA assistance, but all this proved insufficient.

Immediately after the liberation of the capital, all anti-Jewish laws were abrogated by the Government headed by Marshal Tito. The new Constitution of 1945 guaranteed the absolute equality of all citizens. In the same year, legislation was promulgated which made incitement of racial and reli-

gious hatred a crime, and war criminals were prosecuted and duly punished.

Already on June 12, 1942, the Yugoslav government-in-exile had invalidated the transfer of Jewish property to public corporations which was taking place under the regime of the German occupant.

In Belgrade after the liberation, the homes and some of the plundered possessions of Jews were soon restored. However, owing to the general economic policies of the Government and the difficult material situation of the country after the establishment of a Communist regime, restitution did not amount to much. It was restricted to Yugoslav residents. In Zagreb after the liberation, some of the Jews who had fled and whose enterprises, under forced management, had worked for the enemy, were even judged *in absentia* to have been collaborators and their assets were seized and nationalized.

The Yugoslav Jews were very eager to reconstitute their lives and to participate in the reconstruction of the devastated country, where 10 per cent of the total population had perished. In this respect they enjoyed the support of the Government. But the far-reaching changes in the economic structure of the country made the task of their rehabilitation extremely difficult: foreign trade and domestic credit had been made State monopolies, free enterprise was gone, and the new State economy did not provide sufficient opportunities for the reintegration of the Jewish element, whose abilities had been developed under vastly different economic conditions. To a far greater extent than in any other liberated European country, therefore, the major role of the Yugoslav Jew shifted to the field of the professions, a trend which later developments accentuated.

In view of this situation, and inspired by their ancient Jewish traditions, Yugoslav Jews turned their eyes toward the State of Israel, which finally came into being three years after the end of hostilities in Europe.

(2) *The Second Period: Migration.*—It was fortunate that about this time there occurred the historic split between the

regimes of the Soviet Union and Yugoslavia. Thus Yugoslavia was already pursuing her own course when Israel was established. Tito recognized Israel as early as May, 1948, and established diplomatic relations with her in July, 1949. In accordance with these enlightened policies, Yugoslav Jews did not meet with obstacles when they began to emigrate to the Jewish Homeland. In April, 1946, the Anglo-American Commission of Inquiry on Problems of Jews in Europe and Palestine had been told—as it had also been told in Bulgaria—that the majority of the Jewish survivors wanted to stay in Yugoslavia and that only 2,750 wished to go to Palestine (and 550 to other destinations). However, after the establishment of Israel, the situation changed and in the space of one year—from the end of 1948 to the end of 1949—the majority left the country for Israel. Four thousand and one hundred left in December, 1948, followed by 3,000 more in the ensuing summer. Altogether, 8,000 emigrated, including non-Jews married to Jews.

The emigrants were permitted to take with them their personal belongings, including jewelry, but houses and lands were taken over by the Government. The small Yugoslav Jewish community collected the sum of 4,500,000 dinar which was used for assistance to those who left and for the upbuilding of the Jewish State. In the intervening years, only 300 have returned from Israel with 100 more expected to follow. The emigration of physicians was delayed because of the shortage of medical personnel in Yugoslavia, but permitted later. Emigration to Israel continues to this day.

(3) *The Third Period: After the Exodus.*—In a report to the World Jewish Congress, the Federation of Jewish Communities in Yugoslavia stated in December, 1950, that only 6,244 Jews were left in the country, 1,397 of them in Zagreb, 1,180 in Belgrade, about 1,000 in Sarajevo, and about 400 in Subotica. The situation remained practically unchanged during the following years though, after resumption of Israel-bound emigration in June, 1951, 750 left.

In 1954 the total of 6,750 Jews was composed of 6,250 regis-

tered with Jewish Communities and 500 who, while keeping aloof from the organizational point of view, nevertheless were reported as participating in certain activities of the Communities.

Only 35 Communities remained, the others having been liquidated after the exodus. Belgrade, Zagreb, and Sarajevo were the only ones with more than 1,000 members, 7 others had between 100 and 400, the rest only a few families each.

The number of registered Jews within the Federal provinces of Yugoslavia was as follows:

Serbia	2,675
Croatia	2,050
Bosnia	1,298
Slovenia	110
Macedonia	112
Montenegro	5
Total	6,250

Only 45 per cent of the Yugoslav Jews were males. The birth rate was not unfavorable, with 719 children up to the age of 10 years, among them 591 up to the age of 7. There were 765 pupils and students, 181 of them in elementary and 325 in secondary schools, 247 undergraduate and 12 postgraduate students at institutions of higher learning. However, as these young people were dispersed over the whole country, Jewish leaders were faced with the serious problem of how to impart the Jewish cultural heritage to the younger generation. This task is all the more difficult as Jewish life in Yugoslavia is assuming more and more secular aspects, with religious observance sharply declining. In the capital, for instance, where a young rabbi officiates, half of the services are being held in accordance with the Sephardic rite and the other half in accordance with the Ashkenazic rite, and it is not always easy to gather a *minyan*.

The Communities, now, of course, operating under the common political ideology of the "National Front," concentrate on

cultural and educational work, publishing regularly a well-edited *Bulletin* and books and arranging courses and festivals. Yugoslav Jewry maintains a choral society which during its tour of foreign countries has been warmly acclaimed by the critics. In the educational field progress has been made during the last years: there are now in Yugoslavia 4 Jewish kindergartens, 3 Jewish clubs for school children, 2 Jewish college student clubs, Jewish summer camps with educational programs.

All organizational activities are hampered by the fact that there are now only 6,500 Jews among a total population of about 17,000,000. On the other hand, Yugoslav Jewry maintains close contacts with Jewish organizations abroad, in particular with the World Jewish Congress and the American Joint Distribution Committee, with former Yugoslav Jews now residing abroad, and with Israel, including trips of Yugoslav Jews to Israel and Israeli residents to Yugoslavia.

Within the present small number of Jews in Yugoslavia, no less than five categories continue to exist: (1) Those who consider themselves ethnical Jews without being members of religious Communities. (Jews in Yugoslavia may register in their documents as ethnical Jews who are recognized as one of the nationalities in the country; according to a definition by the foremost leader of contemporary Yugoslav Jewry, Professor A. Vajs, the Jews of the country are "an ethnical, religious group with special needs, a special form of life, and special traditions.") (2) Others who regard themselves as both ethnical Jews and members of a religious group. (3) Another category consists of adherents to the Jewish (or "Mosaic") religion who consider themselves ethnically Serbs, Croats, etc. (4) Those of Jewish origin who are affiliated neither with an ethnical nor a religious group. Finally, (5) some survivors of Jewish origin who do not maintain any contact with Yugoslav Jewry but are, nevertheless, included in the statistical surveys. Baptism does not play any role in present-day Yugoslavia.

The general conditions affecting the existence of Jews in Yugoslavia are satisfactory in every respect and there appear

to be no problems with regard to the relations with the authorities and the general public.

The period since 1952 has witnessed important internal reforms, in the main a discontinuance of forced collectivization and a decentralization of the economic administration. The standard of living has greatly improved and the stability of the regime contributes greatly to this satisfactory state of affairs.

Anti-Semitism does not come to the fore though some anti-Jewish prejudices linger on among some uneducated strata of the population. The general atmosphere prevailing in the country and the progress of education are regarded as guarantees against any relapse. There have been no purges affecting Jews in public office, where they are well represented. The Vice-President of the Yugoslav Federal Republic (Moshe Pijade) is Jewish, as are one deputy minister in the Federal Government and another in the Provincial Government of Serbia. One Jew sits in the Chamber of Deputies (for Sarajevo). The list of Jewish career officers in the army is headed by two generals (in addition to three military surgeons with the rank of general), and there are Jews in the Yugoslav diplomatic service.

The outstanding characteristic of Yugoslav Jewry is its concentration in the field of the professions and kindred vocations. According to a survey, made early in 1953, no fewer than 1,606 earn their livelihood and contribute to the upbuilding of the country in this decisive sector. They form no less than 68 per cent of the Jews who are gainfully employed or economically independent.

Their vocational distribution is as follows:

Officials in various branches of the civil service	875
Physicians (including those in the Army Medical Corps, three with rank of general)	221
Pharmacists	41
Veterinarians	21
Engineers (graduates of universities), architects, etc.)	82
"Technicians" (in factories, etc.)	46

Professors at universities and secondary schools	54
Other teatchers and intstructors	48
Lawyers	27
Members of other legal professians	33
Judges	12
Newspapermen and publicists	31
Plawrights, free lance writers, artists, etc. . . .	33
Agronomists	4
Army officers (exclusive of physicians)	73
Non-commissioned officers	5
Total	1,606

In other economic fields, however, the Jews were represented, in 1954, by only 755 persons (about 32 per cent), namely:

Employed in or connected with the economy of the country	247
Craftsmen and mechanics	231
Miscellaneous vocations	277
Total	735

The Yugoslav Jews of today are thus mostly intellectuals and government officials and this extraordinary vocational picture—to which the negative attitude of the authorities toward their emigration has been, of course, a main contributing factor —is of particular significance and assigns to this small Jewish community a specific role of its own.

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III

COMMUNITIES WITH GREAT LOSS OF PRE-WAR NUMBERS

France • Holland • Belgium

Luxembourg • Norway

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FRANCE

A. Introductory

In the 1930's, about 250,000 Jews lived in France, some 70 per cent of them in Paris. Their numbers were considerably increased through the admission, after 1933, of about 50,000 Jews from Germany, Austria, and Czechoslovakia; another 25,000 came from Belgium and Holland after these countries were invaded by the Germans in 1940. Thus in June, 1940, about 320,000 Jews are estimated to have been in France.

The situation of French Jewry in 1939 was marked by a quite considerable depression. After the Munich Agreement, anti-Semitism made enormous inroads and in Jewish circles of Paris there was open talk of an imminent "counter-emancipation." The situation of numerous Jewish refugees from Germany was particularly tragic. As the danger of war drew nearer, a double hostility toward these Jews manifested itself, first as Jewish "war mongers," and second, as Germans considered potential enemies, although they themselves were victims of German persecution.

The internment of German Jews, during the mobilization, in concentration camps as "enemy subjects" ordered by the Jewish Minister, Georges Mandel, remains one of the shameful episodes of that disgraceful era.

At the approach of peril, a fraction of native-born French Jews stiffened again into an attitude of disdain toward the mass of Jewish immigrants. They blamed these immigrants for all the evil, with a lack of logic and a paranoic psychosis charac-

teristic of the anti-Semitism which these so-called privileged Jews manifested inside the Jewish community. The already extremely anti-Zionist trend rose to new heights, the Zionsts being accused by certain assimilated Jews of being enemies of England, from which salvation was expected to come.

This uneasiness and pessimism notwithstanding, the number of foreign Jews who joined the French army was enormous, even larger than in 1914. In the recruiting offices for volunteers, one could see hundreds of foreign Jewish expellees, with the notices of expulsion in their hand, asking to be sent to military training camps and to the front. At the same time, the walls of Paris and of some large provincial cities were plastered with murderous anti-Jewish slogans. By that time, the "Fifth Column" had already been mobilized.

With the collapse of France, a mass movement began, in the main from Paris and other German-occupied areas to the unoccupied zone. At the same time, considerable emigration took place, involving about 30,000 persons. Soon incarcerations and deportations to the East began: approximately 120,000 Jews were deported (of whom only about 5,000 returned after the end of the war). Thousands of others went into hiding or joined the Resistance movement. Spoliation of the total Jewish population was almost complete. Jewish life, at the end of the war, was completely disorganized and practically non-existent.

B. Restoration

Never before did the Yiddish proverb, *Azoi vi es christelt sich, azoi yiddelt es sich* ("As with Christians, so with Jews"), find fuller corroboration than in the present physiognomy and *modus vivendi* of the Jews of France, both the native-born and the immigrants. For some years now, ever since the illusions were dispelled and the aspiration for a *vita nuova* (new life) was destroyed, after the shattering experience of the German Occupation, of the Underground, of the armed Resistance, French society has tended to return to the *statu quo ante* of

the days before 1940, that is, generally speaking, to the system of compromise, of letting matters drift at a time when the world immediately after the war yearned to be one of firmness and determination.

The Jewish community offers in many respects a sufficiently exact replica of this state of mind. Apart from the special situation of the bulk of North African Jews in the metropolis, which is the very trying one of a sub-proletariat of unskilled workers, the material lot of the majority of Jews of France who survived the storm is relatively good, and there remain only residual traces of the distress which prevailed immediately after the war, with, it is true, rather numerous "relief cases," principally of children and adolescents whose parents perished in the Nazi extermination camps. As for the immigrant Jews, their status is generally better than in the interval between the two World Wars, an improvement due above all to the almost total disappearance of the "illegalism" formerly rampant among them (in Paris alone, before the war, there were thousands of alien Jews without a residence or work permit and, on that account, liable to be arrested and expelled) with its inevitable consequences of unemployment or sweatshop labor evading all social legislation. The wholesale naturalization after the liberation of the majority of alien Jews who had enlisted in the French Army on the outbreak of war produced in this respect a normalization of the economic life of this numerically quite important sector of French Jewry.

Things having returned to normal, one can note on the moral plane a resumption and continuation of the pre-war development, notably in regard to assimilation, but with certain modifications at once important and disturbing from the Jewish point of view.

In France, the assimilation of Jews to a non-Jewish environment is not an ideological imperative, social or civic, to which some conform while others resist or oppose it. In other words, assimilation, French style, does not occur on the basis of assimi-

lationist ideas nor in conformity with a doctrine. This phenomenon, in so far as it manifests itself and is active, derives rather from a natural, spontaneous, unpremeditated, and above all more justified process than action springing from a set purpose. It is the famous "assimilative genius" of France which acts or, if you will, rages, as it were, without realizing it itself, and without the knowledge of those whom it molds.

Because of this, the progressive alienation of successive Jewish generations from Judaism, from its religious values, from its culture and its emotional climate, was always in France rather a function of the times than a result of the will of the persons concerned, and it is so again in our day. In 1940, for example, the children of Polish Jews who had arrived in France along about 1929, were, as a rule, quite estranged from the world which still remained that of their parents. Between 1940 and 1945, a violent break of continuity occurred in the process. From a matter of conscience, tradition, or spiritual choice, Judaism became a threatening and deadly affair. As a result, today the children of the newly assimilated of 1940 are, on the average, even less dejudaized proportionately than their parents were formerly while being actually more dejudaized than the latter. However, there seems to be a tendency to make up for the "lag." The tempo of assimilation is accelerating in the absence of what formerly constituted an obstacle, a counterweight, and a compensation. As a matter of fact, until 1938, the successive waves of Jewish immigration flowing from the Eastern countries formed successive "reliefs" which came to replace the "departers" in the realm of Jewish consciousness and observances. The almost complete cessation of Jewish immigration from Central and Eastern Europe is like the closing of a faucet. Consequently, the principle of emptying a bathtub operates regularly, in the absence of any new inflow, and the water level keeps going down, tending toward complete exhaustion. Such, roughly speaking, is the new development. The daily reality, however, is more complex and manifests itself at times under contradictory aspects.

C. Negative and Positive Factors

The negative factors making for the almost total dejudaization of the rising Jewish generation are manifold and active. Besides the aforesaid general tendency, it is necessary to point out many developments in this direction. For example, the loss of prestige by the indigenous French Jews in comparison with the immigrant Jews. Formerly, the assimilation of the immigrant Jews, their adaptation to French society, came about in some measure with the help of the old-established French Jews. In order to become "French like the others," the Polish Jew naturally began by becoming a "French Israelite" and, in this respect, his switching from a small congregation of immigrants to a Consistorial congregation was tantamount to a stamp of approval. The official Consistoire, with its rich and cultured notables, filled the socially ambitious segment of the immigrants with awe, and its elements desired to identify themselves with this social circle. Thus, complete assimilation, if not always avoided, was at least delayed for a generation or two. There was an interval of transition, and circumstances could sometimes turn it into a permanent delay. For a variety of reasons and, among other things, because during the last war the native-born French Jews were just as humiliated, persecuted, and deported as the foreign-born Jews, the worldly and social prestige of the "French Israelites" is badly shaken, and nowadays the assimilation of a Jew of foreign origin takes place directly, without anyone dreaming of borrowing the Franco-Jewish "gangplank." Because of this, the process is naturally accelerated and, very often, assimilation in these conditions means a complete break with every trace of Judaism. As a result, intermarriage has become widespread, particularly in the provinces, where at least 60 per cent of all Jewish families have one non-Jew among their kith and kin. In most cases, the Jewish men marry Gentile women while the Jewish girls are generally scorned.

Another disintegrating factor must be attributed to the

fascination which the Catholic Church has for young Jews devoid of any Jewish religious education and of any emotional Jewish experience. This disturbing phenomenon is rather new in France. Heretofore dejudaization took place by a withdrawal to the lay, a-religious world. In France, agnosticism, or even atheism, is not, as in other countries, the act of a nonconformist and somewhat subversive minority. Quite the contrary: a certain anti-clericalism is always fashionable in official spheres and, more particularly, in the purlieus of political power and intellectual eminence, in parliamentary and academic circles. No social inconvenience resulting from non-membership in a religious community, the conversion of Jews to Christianity was always rare in France and represented only individual cases of a few intellectuals inclined to mysticism. In this respect one can note a change since the liberation, and Catholicism has an undeniable appeal for young Jews hitherto denied any religious nourishment. The great popularity—especially in student circles—of the books of Simone Weil, a distinguished convert and real enemy of Judaism, is producing disastrous results in this regard. In addition, proselytizers—especially the members of the Congregation de Notre Dame de Sion—seem to be extremely active in the wretched haunts of North African Jews in Paris. One notes quite an alarming number of conversions of Jewish children to Catholicism among the families of the poor Algerian and Tunisian costermongers (who sell vegetables and fruit in the streets) of the Montmarte district. An attempt was recently made to check this offensive by establishing a North African *Merkaz* (center) in this district of Paris under the direction of Grand Rabbi Jais, himself an Algerian Jew.

Finally, it is necessary to record another negative factor which is favorable to dejudaization and which arises from political conditions. For some years now, the so-called "Progressive" circles, more or less under Communist influence, have become, in the Jewish sector, distinctly hostile to any affirmation of Jewishness. Conforming to the new "shifts" of nationalistic Communism—extremely chauvinistic in France—these fellow-

travelers, who still dominate quite a large number of essentially liberal elements, now preach and practice the abandonment of any kind of Jewishness, although in the past and not so long ago they very often invoked it, nay, justified their entire political position by their concern for the protection of the Jews from the reactionary anti-Semites. As for the Jewish Communists properly so called, they are in process of wiping out the last vestiges of their belonging to the Jewish community, and the tiny faction of Yiddish-speaking Reds are in the rather unenviable position of a small ghetto relegated to the very rear of the large Communist ghetto, scorned if not despised by the "mighty" of French Communism, such as the writer of Jewish origin, Andre Wurmser, who makes no secret of his aversion for Judaism, and who sometimes even launches into anti-Semitic attacks.

Faced with all these factors making for the loss of Jewish consciousness, the elements of the contrary trend seem quite ineffectual. Nevertheless, they do manifest themselves, though, unfortunately, they comprise only a tiny fringe of the Jewish community, a segment situated at the extreme end of the intellectual youth, without real influence or social significance.

In this sphere of ideas, it is necessary first of all to point out the small nucleus of devotees, if not architects, of a Jewish religious revival movement which had its origin in the sad and sometimes magnificent days of the Occupation. In the woods and thickets of the South of France a profound work had begun with a view of elucidating the meaning of Jewish suffering. At Moissac, a small town in the Southeast, young boys and girls stemming from the movement known as the Jewish Scouts of France had taken the course in ethics given by an eminent *maggid* (preacher), the late and lamented Jacob Gordin, and from this instruction had drawn a culture and strength unexampled in the modern annals of French Jewry. It was *musar* (moralism) that rose to the height of the terrible ordeal. Exhaustive precepts of Jewish humanism. Many of these young people afterwards extended their new way by associating them-

selves with the building of the Land of Israel. But some remained in France and constitute today the handful from whom salvation will, perhaps, come. In the practical sphere this reduces itself to some groups and clubs comprising mainly students of both sexes who apply themselves to the difficult but laudible experiment which consists of trying to live spiritually as Jews in conformity with the great moral laws of Judaism invested and valorized in accordance with the exigent and difficult requirements of today. One must not underestimate the strength of the influence of any small spiritual communities like the famous center of Orsay, on the outskirts of Paris, where some tens of young people live in an atmosphere somewhat similar to the *Werkleute* circles clustering about Martin Buber in pre-Nazi Germany.

Targoum, a periodical with a small circulation, reflects on the literary plane the concerns of this vanguard club, composed largely of young North African intellectuals.

There is no spiritual expression of the trend of Consistoire Judaism. The Consistoire as such is an administrative religious body without an ideology, and it is on the decline. Of the 7,000 members it still numbered in Paris at the start of the Occupation—to the great astonishment of the German authorities, who suspected a trick, being unable to grasp the reality of this numerical weakness—there now remain only 3,500, out of a total Jewish population of a hundred and fifty thousand which the capital contains. Even smaller is the active membership: only about 800 vote in the elections and about 200 attend meetings. The Consistoire has 12 synagogues in Paris and 8 in the suburbs; it has 20 rabbis, to be found in the larger cities. It also has the only French Rabbinical Seminary, where 25 youths are studying to be rabbis and cantors.

In the Jewish sector of France still living formally in accordance with ideas born of the revolutionary emancipation, there undoubtedly exists greater vitality among the minority allied with Reform Judaism than in the circle of the old Consistoire. Under the leadership of a very militant rabbi, M.

Zaoui, the Union of Reform Jewish Youth is not without influence in the direction of Jewish continuity upon a small part of the Jewish youth of the upper middle class of the wealthy districts of Paris: Passy and Auteuil. It is interesting to note, moreover, that the present traditionalist and pro-Zionist trend tends to become predominant in the Reform Synagogue of France. This finds concrete expression in a progressive reintroduction of Hebrew in the liturgy, formerly almost entirely in French, and in the intensive dissemination of a knowledge of modern Hebrew among Reform youth. In the aggregate, the Liberal (i.e., Reform) Jews of France are pro-Zionist, with more fervor than the "conservatives" of the Consistoire.

The groupings, both juvenile and adult, of strict Orthodoxy and of the Chassidic rite abound in the Jewish sector of Paris, with yeshivas in the suburbs and in the provinces, with chapels scattered here and there, and even with the picturesque exterior representative of the Jewish Middle Ages. Paris alone has 12 Congregations of East European Jews. These are the remnants of the transient elements who came to Paris in 1945-1946 and who remain there temporarily. The life and activities of these faithful—stemming for the most part from the Sub-Carpathian areas of the former Czechoslovakia—could certainly form an interesting subject for a study within the specific framework of the problem of the survival of Chassidism. However, their fortuitous and actual presence in France is without implication for the physiognomy and development of French Jewry. They are transplanted people who have neither the desire nor the possibility to take root upon the banks of the Seine.

As for the old, native Orthodoxy, mainly of Alsatian origin, its role is now more important than formerly, in the days of the predominance of the Consistoire. Unfortunately, it is too dependent on the social composition of its elements to be able to exercise a very great influence. Access to this strictly Orthodox—and essentially middle-class—community is closed to working people.

In all groupings there is a dearth of rabbis, particularly in the provinces. There are approximately 20 rabbis in Paris, ten

in Alsace-Lorraine, and about a dozen in the rest of France. There is not a single rabbi for a distance of 250 miles between Paris and Bordeaux and the same distance between Bordeaux and Toulouse. Last year a plan was worked out to supply a number of communities (Amiens, Avignon, Dunkirk, Nantes, Reims, etc.) with rabbis. The plan does not seem to have been implemented so far.

Undoubtedly it is in the sphere of spiritual "external representation" that French Jewry can enter something on the credit side of its ledger, during the last period.

In the olden days and recently, those who by reason of their origin represented Jewry in the academic world were agnostic and skeptical professors like the philosophers Brunschvig and Levy-Bruhl, or the Orientalist Sylvain Levi. In the end French intellectual society came to conceive of Judaism quite in the image of these scholars, whose faith was vested only in the data of experimental science. Today a work such as that of Professor Henri Baruk, linking closely the conquests of modern psychology and psychotherapy to sublime principles of Jewish ethics and traditional Jewish therapeutics, has contributed enormously toward disclosing to the eyes of the best and clearest-thinking among the Gentiles what the late Aime Palliere called the "unknown sanctuary." Moreover, the adoption of a completely affirmative attitude toward Judaism by men who exert an influence upon society in the domain of sociology and politics, as, for example, the writer Robert Aron, author of *Return to the Lord,* underlines and almost points up the great change which has taken place in the intellectual makeup of certain French Jewish thinkers. It must not be forgotten that in the past, in the days of the Reinachs and Darmstetters, the "great" Jews of France made mention of their Jewishness before non-Jewish audiences only in order to emphasize the slight importance or highly "synthetic" nature of Judaism.

One is somewhat perplexed when one prepares to express an opinion about the factor of Zionism considered as such in relation to the tenor of Jewish life in France as a whole. The

question might be put thus: The great popularity of Zionism in Jewish circles, the prestige of the State of Israel in non-Jewish circles, and, lastly, the fact that among the Jews of France Zionism no longer has any opponents—can all this be regarded as a positive sign, disregarding a narrowly partisan view? By becoming popular and spreading itself out, the affective Zionist complex has unquestionably become more blurred and less binding than formerly. Without indulging in polemics, one might nevertheless say that Zionism enables many Jews to neglect their Judaism while keeping a clear conscience. In return for the purchase of a few tickets to a banquet given in behalf of "Aid to Israel," and by attending the "Independence Day" meetings every spring, one cheaply discharges an obligation which formerly was particularly heavy. This pessimistic view is very often borne out by everyday reality, which establishes that many Zionists habitually contribute to the decline of Judaism by their passivity and perhaps even by their activity. Moreover, the alarming developments, such as the numerous mixed marriages, take place also in Zionist circles. Thus the children of leading French Zionist figures have contracted marriages with non-Jewish mates. But, on the other hand, the constant of "pro-Israelism" somehow maintains a climate of Jewish affectivity which, even if not very rich, is undoubtedly better than nothing In present conditions, given the feeble influence of the synagogue, Zionism, with its manifold bureaus, numerous officials, and continuous agitation, is still the most manifest "address" of Jewish existence in a country like France. It seems to us that it would be necessary to render French Zionism more organic, to see to it that it becomes truly, in so far as it is alive, an emanation from the thinking and the will of Zionist Jews in France, that is to say, that it is less ordered about and managed from the outside, by functionaries and envoys sent from Zionist headquarters in Israel. On this condition it could fulfill its role of a reservoir and primary school, as it were, for the preservation and development of Jewish spirituality in the French sector of the Diaspora

D. Number and Distribution of Jews

The exact number of Jews in France is unknown. It is estimated that about 300,000 Jews live there: probably about 150,000 in Paris and its suburbs, approximately 10,000 in Marseilles, some 12,000 in Lyons, over 8,000 in Strasbourg, about 7,000 in Nice, some 4,000 in Bordeaux, some 2,800 in Metz, about 2,000 each in Mulhouse, Lille, and Nancy, some 1,700 in Grenoble, and the rest (about 100,000) in smaller groups in the rest of France.

E. Organizations

The Jewish organizations having their seat in Paris are as manifold as in any large Jewish center of activity on the other side of the Atlantic, and a mere enumeration of them would be liable to give an exaggerated idea of the vitality and liveliness of French Jewry. As a matter of fact, in most cases—and particularly as regards the political organizations of Jewry—it is not a question of "organic" institutions springing from the will or aspiration of the Jews of France, but of administrative extensions to the "French branch" of Jewish movements international in character if not in structure. In this article we will only mention a few Jewish organizations in France which have taken root in French life or are in the process of becoming acclimated in it.

(1) *World Jewish Congress.*—The French Section of the World Jewish Congress is now a French Jewish group—and not merely a "French section" of an international body—whether in the composition of its leaders and its animating principles or in its activity and influence.

In the cultural sphere, it is the only "regular" body systematically engaged in the work of spreading Jewish culture by means of lectures, which extend also to the small provincial Jewish centers, otherwise so deprived of any Jewish spiritual sustenance An educational service recently inaugurated endeavors to disseminate and instill the universal values of the

Jewish spirit. In addition, it stimulates Yiddish literary creativeness. On the political plane, the Centre de Documentation Politique informs the public about anti-Semetic attacks and undertakes the most essential defense measures.

Altogether, we behold an activity which strives to preserve and develop the particular virtues of French Jewry of another day (that of the nineteenth century), more outspoken and vigilant than that of today, with, in addition, a sense of Jewish authenticity which was lost in the first epoch of emancipated Jewry.

(2) *F.S.J.U.*—The Fonds Social Juif Unifie is a financial body which centralizes and distributes the funds destined for Jewish welfare work. This is not the place to explain how it functions. It is essential, however, to stress that this quite recently established institution has replaced the moral anarchy in Jewish social assistance with a sound method of unification based on American experience in this field. At first, the F.S.J.U. came up against the French habit of individualism ("I give when I please, what I plaese, and to whom I please," said the French Jew, and "I don't like a tax collector"); then, little by little, it caught on and became the fashion.

(3) *L'Alliance Israelite Universelle.*—Less powerful than in the past, the A.I.U. is still a French Jewish reality. It is still the institution which fashions the Jewish intellectual strata of North African origin and exerts its influence upon the Mediterranean Jewish sector, for which France is the school of the West and the Alliance the threshold of a culture always wondrous and universal.

(4) *The Jewish Community of Paris.*—There is no central or unified Jewish Community in the French capital.

The "official Community" is represented by the Consistoire de Paris, with its "worship groups" (*associations cultuelles*). They provide for the current religious needs of the minority of the Jewish population still observing religious practices. In fact, the Consistoire de Paris consists mainly of the rabbis and the cantors (*chazanim*) who officiate at the services. The type

of Jewish notables who used to busy himself with communal affairs (the *askan* of the old communities) has disappeared, except in the ultra-Orthodox circles.

Apart from the congregations subordinate to the Consistoire and grouped around the principal Parisian synagogues, there exist a certain number of congregations whose membership is generally composed of persons hailing from the same town or region. But even on this level of association, dissensions prevail. For example, the new congregation of natives of North Africa, which was founded with great difficulty by Grand Rabbi Jais of Paris, ran up against dissidence on the part of a group of Algerian and Tunisian Jews. Although without means, they managed somehow to open their own chapel in the North African Jewish quarter.

The attempt made three years ago by the late Israel Yefroykin to create a large central Kehillah of Eastern Jews virtually failed although formally there is still in existence a body called "Kehilla de Paris," which somewhat duplicates the work of the Federation des societes juives de France. This latter Federation, besides many secular societies, also unites religious associations and congregations.

The non-Consistorial but native-born Orthodox groups of "strict observance," as well as the Liberals, have their own entirely autonomous congregations. There are also the Sephardim (mainly those from Salonika and from Turkey), who, while belonging to the Consistoire, keep up most faithfully the meaning and structure of the traditional Kehilloth. They represent the least political-minded element of Parisian Jewry and, in general, their impact on Jewish sentiment, when exercised, makes itself felt primarily in the religious sphere.

(5) *C. R. I. F.*—C.R.I.F. (Counseil Representatif des Juifs de France), founded after the liberation as the sole Jewish representative vis-a-vis the outside world, still feels the effects of the Communist schism in Jewish life. The principle of absolute unity of views among all the factions on the Jewish political scene when general Jewish interests are at stake, cannot be

either maintained or applied when such cases occur as, for example, the Prague Trial, which caused most Jews to rally against anti-Semitism styling itself "progressive." Moreover, C. R. I. F. has had few opportunities to intervene. Neither has it succeeded in gaining recognition as the political representation of French Jewry. Most of the French people have no understanding of the existence of a "political" Jewry within the framework of France and, to them, the authorized representative of the French Jews can only be the Grand Rabbi of France.

F. Education

The network of Jewish schools in France is very limited. There are no exact figures available, but it is estimated that, at the most, a very small percentage of Jewish children and adolescents receive Jewish instruction in one form or another.

In 1954, it was estimated that there are in France about 40,000 Jewish children of school age, half of them in Paris. Of this number, 400 attend Jewish schools and 1,300 Sunday schools (on Thursday and Sunday) in Paris. In 1955, according to Tito Cohen, director of F.S.J.U. only about 20 per cent of Jewish children under 14 receive some kind of Jewish education, but hardly 5 per cent of those over 14 years of age know anything about Judaism. Somewhat better is the situation as regards Jewish youths over 18 because the student and other Jewish youth organizations exert a good influence upon the Jewish education of their members. There is a Communauté de la Jeunesse Juive (supreme coordinating body of French Jewish youth movements) which tries to create a network of Jewish centers in Paris and the provinces (it has received 100,000,000 francs from the Claims Conference for a large club in Paris). The Communauté operates on the premise that ignorance of things Jewish and lack of social contacts among Jews are chiefly responsible for the current drift away from Judaism among the youth, but that there is a widespread nostalgic desire to learn about Jewish history and faith.

Efforts to expand Jewish education meet with difficulties also because of a lack of teachers. A Jewish Teachers' Seminary is scheduled to be opened this fall (1955) under the auspices of the Central and Paris Consistoires, Representative Council of Traditional Jewry, and the Fonds Social.

Paris has two Jewish secondary schools (Yavneh and Maimonides) as well as a Jewish elementary school named for Lucien de Hirsch. Altogether, about three hundred pupils attend these Jewish institutions full time. The courses of religious instruction given on days when there is no school—Thursday and Sunday—are likewise attended by several hundred Jewish children in Paris and its suburbs. These very sketchy courses are organized by the Consistoire and generally confined to preparing boys for Bar Mitzvah. An educational institution, subsidized by the Fonds Social Juif Unifié, trains monitors for Jewish homes for children in France and North Africa. This institution, which is a boarding school whose students are nearly all of them holders of scholarships, is only in its initial stage, with thirty pupils receiving a secondary Jewish education.

Jewish religious instruction is very little developed. In only a few secondary schools do the Jewish pupils receive instruction by a rabbi once or twice a week.

The city of Strasbourg has a luxuriously appointed Jewish secondary school, the Akiba School, with all the latest improvements. This school began to operate with an enrollment of forty. Today it is attended by two hundred pupils.

Apart from the Alsace and Lorraine provinces, where Jewish life has always been more intense and better organized than in the interior of France,* there is very little to report, if we leave Paris out of consideration. In Marseilles, second largest

* The Jewish communities of Alsace and Lorraine, called "concordatory communities," are subsidized by the State, as are, in these provinces with a special status, the Catholic and Protestant Churches. For this reason, and because of the traditional religiosity of the Jews of Alsace, Jewish life there is infinitely richer and more compact than in the rest of France.

city in France with a very large Jewish population of North African origin, a few score children attend the Talmud Torah installed in the synagogue. Almost the same situation prevails in Nice and Lyons. There is virtually nothing doing elsewhere.

As regards free educational fare intended mainly for adults, Paris is well provided while in the provinces—Alsace and Lorraine excepted—there is virtually none. In Paris there are on the average four or five Jewish lectures every night. Yet the attendance is rarely large and, except for the lectures organized by youth groups or by the Union of Jewish Students, the average age of the listeners is depressingly high. One sometimes gets the impression that it is a gathering of aged and superannuated persons.

We have already mentioned the educational lectures arranged by the Educational Department of the World Jewish Congree. Apart from this, a Jewish People's University is conducted by the Federation of Jewish Societies of France, with numerous lectures in French and Yiddish, exhibitions, and concerts. Under the auspices of a very dynamic, forceful. and militant rabbi—Rabbi David Feuerwerker—a free debating club—the Circle du Marais—has been active for several years. Situated in one of the most beautiful squares in Paris, the Place des Vosges where the Victor Hugo Museum is located, the club, where the discussions are sometimes stormy, is one of the liveliest and most picturesque spots in the Jewish quarter of the French capital. It is like Hyde Park, with more spirit.

As against this Parisian liveliness, the provinces remain very lethargic, always with the exception of the city of Strasbourg, second metropolis of French Jewry.

G. Press and Literature

In the years 1946-1950, Paris became the Jewish spiritual center of Europe. A large number of Jewish organizations were created, newspapers, several dailies and a dozen weeklies and monthlies (in Yiddish and French) of different trends were

established, as well as several libraries. Weekly Jewish meetings and lectures were arranged and the communal and cultural life of Paris became richer from day to day. Unfortunately, during the last 3-4 years, all these activities have slowed down very considerably. One of the main reasons for the weakened pulsation of Jewish life is the stoppage of new immigrants and the emigration of the bearers of the movement, refugees from Eastern Europe, to Israel and overseas. Another reason is to be found in the stabilization of Jewish life, which, as detailed above, contributes to assimilation rather than to the strengthening of Jewishness among the old and new residents.

Despite the slowdown of Yiddish creativity, seven books appeared in 1953, and the same number in 1954, while the first half of 1955 produced three books. A salient feature of this activity is its diversity: among the books published in this period are poems, novels, and short stories, Jewish history and research into the *Churban* period. However, it must be noted that this quite considerable literary creativity is a result not so much of the needs of the reading public, as of the devotion of the writers themselves, who feel an urge to create and to bring their creations to the public.

Besides the writers, several Jewish organizations are also engaged in spreading Jewish literature and culture among the public in Paris, as well as in the provinces. Among these organizations are the People's University of the Federation of Jewish Societies in France, Arbeiter Ring, the Kulicz Library, and, as already mentioned, the World Jewish Congress Cultural Commission.

In the field of Hebrew literature the output has been rather meager. The principal organization in charge of promoting Hebrew is the French section of Brit Ivrit Olamit. In 1955, a first effort was made to publish a Hebrew periodical, *Shvilim*.

While the creativity in Yiddish and Hebrew has been carried on by immigrants from Eastern Europe, indigenous French Jewry has been active in the field of literary and scholarly work in French. The nestor of these French Jewish writers is

Edmond Fleg. Mention should also be made of Henry Bernstein and Pierre Gascar (both authors of stories and essays on Jewish themes), A. Chouraqui (known for his contribution to the history of Jews in North Africa), Mannes Sperber (a Jew of East European descent formerly living in Germany) who writes in French on historical and contemporary problems.

There are three Yiddish dailies: *Unzer Wort* (Poale Zion), *Unzer Stimme* (Bundist), *Naje Presse* (Progressive); two weeklies, *Zionistische Stimme* (General Zionists), and *Unzer Weg* (Mizrachi). In addition, there are six fortnightlies, fifteen monthlies, one quarterly, and several irregular periodicals, both in Yiddish and French. Of these publications mention should be made of the monthly *Kium*. Dedicated to literature, culture, and social problems, it is the only Yiddish periodical in Europe on a high level which continues the old tradition of East European publications. Among the other Yiddish publications mention should be made of *Folksgesund*, a popular periodical devoted to hygiene and medicine.

The more serious publications in French are *Droit et Liberté* (a fortnightly established by the Jewish Underground in France during the war) devoted to problems of Jewish life; *La Revue du Fonds Social Juif Unifié* (a quarterly devoted mainly to problems of French Jews, their history, and communal life); *La Vie Juive* (a bi-monthly published by the French Section of the World Jewish Congress).

There are also a few publications in the provinces, devoted mostly to local problems.

H. "Economic Position"

The statistical data in this respect should be considered with great caution. They represent, at best, approximations. Now and then enormous errors occur.

In order to avoid approximations, let us abstain from giving any figures and limit ourselves to a general survey.

The French Jews occupy a very important place in com-

merce, wholesale and retail, particularly in the following lines: textiles, ready-to-wear clothes, hides and skins, leather goods, millinery, jewelry. The proportion of Jewish physicians is likewise very large, the majority of them being sons of immigrants (first French generation), mainly from Rumania.

Approximately the same situation exists in regard to lawyers, yet with a marked preponderance of native-born Jewish elements.

Similarly, there are many Jews teaching in secondary or higher schools, in the press (where frequently the Jewish origin of the journalists is unknown, due to pseudonyms; however, the publisher of a French paper with the largest circulation, *France-Soir*, is a Jew of Russian origin who does not conceal it, Pierre Lazareff); also in the movies and radio. There are fewer Jews in banking and heavy industry than before the war. Among the immigrants, the predominant occupation is retail business and handicraft, as well as import and export. There are more Jewish technicians than before the war.

The number of salaried Jewish workers is diminishing, that of small employers increasing. There are more Jewish civil service workers in the low and intermediate categories than before the war, due mainly to the immigration of Algerian Jews (of French nationality) who supply an important number of post-office employees, elementary school teachers, and officials in central and local branches of government.

On the whole, the range of Jewish occupations is in the process of expansion and "Jewish specialization" in the vocational sphere is diminishing, although certain industries (ready-to-wear, leather goods) still remain almost exclusively in Jewish hands in Paris.

I. Restitution and Compensation

On the whole, this problem may be regarded as liquidated.

The despoiled Jews were treated like all the others who had suffered war damages. To the extent that the spoliations could

be proven, restitution was effected by ordinary administrative methods, without special provisions. It goes without saying that all the Jewish functionaries who had been ousted by the Vichy regime were reinstated. The difficulties which arose or are still arising in certain instances, are special cases and quite rare.

J. Refugees

The category of "Jewish refugees" no longer exists in France, although there are a certain number of Jewish political refugees from the countries behind the Iron Curtain. They sometimes resort to Jewish social organizations but, on the whole, are taken care of by special bodies charged with the problem of refugees from Communist countries. A certain number of stateless Jews (formerly of Russian and Polish nationality) still maintain formally the status of refugees. However, their actual position is the same as that of other alien residents in France, and they have the right to and the possibility of work. In case of married people with small children, naturalization may be easily obtained.

From the Jewish point of view, there is actually no refugee problem in France.

K. War Orphans

In so far as they have not left for Israel or transatlantic countries, the Jewish orphans of deported parents have been sheltered or brought up in Jewish children's homes, mainly of the OSE and the OPEJ (Oeuvre de protection de l'enfance juive). Many of these children are finishing their apprenticeship in the ORT trade schools.

The Finaly Affair focused attention on the painful fact of "the children lost to Judaism," removed from their own community by overzealous Christians who saw in the Hitler catastrophe a divine device for "the salvation of the Jews." There is absolutely no doubt that other Jewish children are now living

in France in Catholic religious institutions, in convents, as well as in private homes. In the absence of any elements of a "scandal," as in the Finaly Affair, it is difficult to do anything about it.

The Jewish reactions in the course of the Finaly Affair, and the efficacy of these reactions, due to the intervention of the French Section of the World Jewish Congress, have surpassed expectations, considering the numerical weakness of French Jewry. A second "round" consisting of systematic detection of Jewish children hidden by Gentiles, baptized, and brought up in the Christian faith, would meet with very strong resistance on the part of the clergy, and would undoubtedly not be countenanced by public opinion. It is improbable that such an action is envisaged by the Jewish organizations in France in the foreseeable future.

L. Anti-Semitism

It is very easy to form an opinion of French anti-Semitism in its present phase. The period of relative fear, when the anti-Semites did not dare to profess themselves such, is now over, and wide liberty prevails in this respect, despite the protests and appeals for suppression coming from alarmed Jewish circles.

The term "restoration" is applicable in this sphere as in others. The salient feature of French anti-Semitism is that it always manifests itself in critical situations. Just now there is no real situation tending to activate or mobilize the anti-Semites. Under the government of Mendes-France, one could fear very disturbing developments, bearing in mind the atmosphere which prevailed at the time of the Popular Front, under the government of Leon Blum. However, the experience was of very short duration and, in this sphere of ideas, the situation did not have time to ripen.

On the whole, militant anti-Semitism flaunts itself less than before the war. One feels that a bad conscience and a vague feeling of guilt still restrain some persons. Nevertheless, a more or less pronounced hostility toward Jews still obtains

among a very large number of people, especially among the middle class and members of the liberal professions. Only seldom does one encounter manifestations of anti-Semitism among the common people. The Alsatian peasantry generally lives on good terms with the country Jews, a small number of whom are still to be found in the villages and market towns situated between the Rhine and the Vosges.

As in the past, one now sees again in the small Alsatian towns Catholic peasants who have come to market take advantage of the occasion to attend the Sabbath service at the synagogue.

There are two weeklies in Paris with a circulation of about ten thousand which openly espouse anti-Semitism. They are *Aspects de la France* and *Rivarol*. In the aggregate, the readers as well as the editors of these papers consist of former "collaborationists" who were put in prison after the liberation. The "Movement for the Protection of the Middle Class," founded and led by Poujade, until recently an obscure agitator from the provinces, added to its invectives against the prevailing fiscal policy a thick admixture of anti-Jewish demagogy. His success in the recent elections creates a menace for the Jewish situation whose real gravity cannot yet be properly evaluated.

A curious development finds expression in the growing disaffection of Jews with the organizations which claim to be fighting anti-Semitism. The L.I.C.A. (Ligue Internationale contre l'Antisemitisme—International League against Anti-Semitism), once so powerful, has lost three-fourths of its members. A similar movement under Communist control vegetates while waiting for its demise. On the juridical plane, the World Jewish Congress endeavors to counteract the anti-Semitic propaganda.

M. Conclusion

In conclusion, and in order to sum as briefly as possible the present situation of French Jewry, it is fitting to state the following:

1. Of the several hundred thousand Jews living in metropolitan France, only a small minority (in my estimation, about 5 per cent) is psychologically and practically in a position to express in some manner its sense of belonging to the Jewish community.

2. This phenomenon—Judaism become a minority concern among Jews—is not due to the Hitler catastrophe, nor the result of the destruction, but is a continuation of an already very old trend, aggravated in particular by the stoppage of immigration from the East, by the termination of the movement of successive "reliefs."

3. The philanthropic and welfare activities of French Jewish organizations, or of organizations operating in France, activities relatively important, are liable to mislead those who turn to them in order to get an idea of French Jewry. It must not be forgotten that social assistance, relief, loans, vocational retraining, etc., are not administered by Jewish organizations in France on an ethnic basis, nor on that of religious affiliation. Many of the "relief cases" are Jews only as relief recipients and will cease to be Jews the moment their case is straightened out. The Jewish situation is very hazy in France.

4. The assembly of notables, founded by Napoleon and called Consistoire, is ceasing to play an important role in the religious and spiritual life of professing Jews in France. There exists as yet no other force to supplant the Consistoire and its conservative spirit. However, a new state of mind is manifest in the efforts at renewal, especially noticeable in the circles of young Jewish intellectuals, where one observes an impressive rehabilitation of Jewish religious values within the framework of the great problems of the times. This trend has so far had no repercussion on the Jewish masses.

5. One must not consider the problem of the development of French Jewry from the viewpoint of "reconstitution," but of constitution and organization, which it has never known since the great expulsion in the Middle Ages. The Jewish community of France is not to be "refashioned," since it has never

yet been fashioned in the modern manner. The extermination of one-third of the Jews of France constitutes, from a human point of view, a tremendous drama. But it must be said, however cruel this paradox may sound, that this barbarous annihilation hardly affected the French Jewish spiritual community as such because it was in every way on the road to decline, which was quite evident before the Hitler catastrophe, throughout the period of prosperity and well-being. It is proper to regard the Jewish community of France more as an "underdeveloped country," from a spiritual and organic point of view, than as a devastated land.

In all these appraisals, an exception must be made as regards Alsace, where the situation is quite different. In Strasbourg, Jewish life is more vigorous than before the war. The militant Orthodoxy, headed by Grand Rabbi Deutsch, has assumed the leadership of the community and applied itself to an organic fusion of the native and immigrant elements. The Jewish scene in Strasbourg resembles much more the Frankfort of the past than it does the Parisian Jewry of today.

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HOLLAND

A. Introductory

In 1940, there were approximately 140,000 Jews in Holland of whom approximataly 110,000 were native-born or had settled in the country before 1933, and about 30,000 German and Austrian refugees who had come to Holland from 1933 on. Of the total of 140,000, some 80,000 lived in Amsterdam. Only about 5,000 were Sephardim, the rest Ashkenasim.

The local Jews played a considerable role in politics, economic life, art, science, and literature. Many of them were deeply assimilated and the vast majority was well integrated economically and socially into the life of Holland. Many Jews were engaged in second-hand and street trade; there were also many artisans (diamond industry) and workers in various branches of manufacturing. The higher strata were mainly engaged in commerce and, to a lesser extent, in the professions.

During the war, about 110,000 Jews were deported from Holland. Of these no more than 6,000 returned. Thus, at the time of the liberation, there was only a fraction of the Jewish community left in an exhausted and plundered country. Some thousands of war orphans were staying with foster parents. The Jews who had remained in Holland emerged from their hiding-places, the majority finding themselves without a home, without possessions, without their businesses, and without any income. The Jewish capital which had either been handed over

or requisitioned, had been put under the trusteeship of so-called banking institutions, and this trusteeship developed into an administrative apparatus engaged in theft, during the severe war winter of 1944-1945.

And all this took place in a country whose entire population had been brought to the verge of physical and economical ruin, not only due to the occupation years, but especially due to the winter of starvation which followed the unsuccessful autumn offensive of the Allies after the battle of Arnhem.

The Jewish population, which had constituted an essential part of the Dutch people for centuries, found itself in a completely different position. Before 1940, Jews could be found in many social classes of the Dutch people and sharing all the feelings characteristic of each social group, such as group-consciousness, solidarity, mutual ties, social differences from other groups, etc.

The war had practically destroyed all this. The Jewish community shrank to a small group. Of the communities, especially those outside the large towns, there were only solitary members and parts of families left.

B. General Reconstruction and Hindrances

Viewing the situation in the light of such a catastrophe, it is striking how rapid and effective the social and spiritual recovery of the Jewish group has been. Looking back, one can perhaps say that a positive factor lay in the very circumstance that not only the Jews but the whole Dutch population were faced with the task of reconstruction. Because of this, the Jews, in their primitive houses and scanty clothing, handicapped in business, and shocked by the war, were no exception in the pattern of Dutch life. On the other hand, it was necessary that all strength be combined.

With amazing dynamic energy, idealism, and self-confidence, the work was tackled. Already in the winter of 1944, when the Netherlands had been liberated below the Rhine, a number of Jews who had stayed in that district, or who had been in hiding there, or had returned, laid the foundations for a co-ordinating

committee. It was the special duty of this committee to handle the work in the social field together with all war-relief organizations and the Joint. It is remembered with appreciation that the British Jewish Relief Unit, under leadership of Miss Erica Lunzer, was among the first to commence relief work here after the liberation. To all who worked during that period, the memory of Miss Pinsky—the Joint representative so tragically killed in an air crash—will be unforgettable.

Still another factor made for quick recovery. Since way back, the Jewish community in the Netherlands was organized in Kehilloth (congregations) which were linked together in a national organization. Next to this group there existed a Sephardic group and a small Liberal group. The administrative unity and organization of the Jewish congregations contributed much toward the simplification of the recovery.

Even though the war had no serious harmful effect on the Jewish spirit, this does not mean that the events did not produce drastic spiritual consequences. The fact that during a number of years, Jews and non-Jews, no matter how bound together they were by their common lot in an occupied country, were still obliged to follow each his own way, caused the Jewish group to become severed from close association with the life of the Dutch people.

The Dutch people, to whom the Jewish fellow-citizen had always been a completely familiar person and a friend, now became "Jew-conscious," as it were. Though unable to speak of concrete anti-Semitism, one can say that the Jew as such is more conspicuous than in the past.

On the other hand, the Dutch Jews learned to know the relativity of their position, as a result of the misfortune which had befallen them. Next to the help offered by strangers, there were disillusionments as far as friends and protection were concerned, and this produced a feeling of being strangers. In the ten-year period since the war, this feeling expressed itself in the form of a need for emigration, which went far above the normal group percentage.

C. Emigration

Besides attracting a very important group of Zionists, the founding of the State of Israel also attracted a number of Jews who were actuated by a sense of solidarity, the desire for adventure, or by a sense of despair of their own country. For many of them, the anguish caused by the actual and figurative heaps of ruins in Holland was too overpowering. This state of mind greatly promoted emigration also to other lands, especially to overseas countries, whenever there arose fear of a European war or danger from the Russians. Since the liberation, about 3,200 Jews have emigrated to Israel (some of whom have returned to Holland). About 5,000 have emigrated to other countries. The emigrants came largely from provincial towns, bereft of spiritual guidance and material means. The exodus still continues and it is believed that among the annual number of about 50,000 emigrants from Holland, some 300 are Jews, of whom about 20 per cent go to Israel. It is said that many heads of families were registered for emigration at the end of last year.

D. Special Problems of Rehabilitation

(a) *The Children.*—About 4,000 children were given into the custody of non-Jews before the deportations. The survivors received their children back. As far as the approximately 2,000 war orphans staying with foster parents were concerned, immediate action was necessary. In an organization in which were represented the many different trends in the field of child welfare (*l'Ezrath Hayeled*), everything possible was done to bring children back within the circle of the Jewish community. One had to fight against a great deal of misconception, and there was a great deal of opposition. In addition, there was a strong desire on the part of some opponents to engage in proselytizing work.

In the end, of the 1,056 Jewish war orphans, 358 (171 boys and 187 girls) remained in a non-Jewish enviroment, most of

them being now under the guardianship of their non-Jewish foster parents; the rest are in non-Jewish orphanages.

The case which has now become known the world over, namely, that of Anneke Beekman, who, ten years after the war, is being kept hidden by her Catholic foster mother, supported by Church authorities, is a tragic page in the history of the many sacrifiices which Dutch people were willing, in spite of everything, to make in behalf of the Jewish child.

Now, ten years later, the work for Jewish children is fully organized and directed from a central point. All institutions for the normal child have been combined into one organization. An expert staff is attached to the main office as well as to the Children's Homes, working according to the case-work system. A great difficulty remains in finding Jewish superintendents for the Homes. There is still an acute shortage of Jewish personnel.

The work for the abnormal child has also been organized on a completely scientific basis.

(b) *Social Care.*—Apart from the care of the children, it was necessary, immediately after the liberation, to provide for Jewish families and individuals. There was need of both economic and spiritual rehabilitation. Out of the work initiated by the J.C.C. (Jewish Co-ordinating Committee), there developed a solid institution of modern Jewish social work which now has an extensive field across the whole of the Netherlands. The fact has been established, however, that in the great majority of cases where there still are social difficulties, the origin can be traced to war circumstances. In Amsterdam, there are a Jewish hospital and two homes for the aged. In The Hague, the home for the aged was in 1954 removed to larger quarters accommodating 58 persons. In spite of all the trials and tribulations, it is amazing how dynamic the Jewish spirit is, and how relatively slight the spiritual consequences of the tragedy and sorrow experienced have been.

Besides the work of the foundation known as *"Joeds Maatschappelijk Werk"* (Jewish Social Work), which succeeded the JCC) which embraces a very large number of organizations, there

is the pastoral-social work of the Ashkenazic Congregation in Amsterdam, and to some extent elsewhere, as well as the medical-social care given by the office dealing with difficulties in Jewish family life, etc. This care comprises visits to the sick, contribution of gifts, as well as extensive psychological help and financial assistance.

(c) *Care of the Aged.*—The problem of the large group of elderly persons who had survived and who were quite alone, was an urgent one immediately after the first general emergency relief had been given. In this field, pre-war Dutch Jewry had won wide respect, and with the same devotion it was possible to create various residences for elderly people. This does not alter the fact that much still remains to be done in this direction.

(d) *Reconstruction of Jewish Institutions.*—The Dutch Jewish communities tried to rebuild and reconstruct the communal institutions which were destroyed during the Nazi period. One of these institutions was the Jewish Historical Museum, first opened in February, 1932. The Nazis removed its contents, and after the war only a quarter of the collection was recovered. The museum was reopened in July, 1955, in the building of one of the smaller municipal museums of Amsterdam. The Great Sephardic Synagogue in Amsterdam which needed renovation as a result of wear and tear has been restored with the assistance of the Municipality. In 1954, a new synagogue was consecrated in Rotterdam, and, as said, an old-age home in The Hague.

E. The Jewish Community in 1955, in Figures

There are no exact demographical figures regarding the Jewish community. The reason for this is that many Jews do not register in the census as being of the Jewish faith: in the census of 1947, only 14,000 declared themselves Jews by religion. It is estimated that the total number of Jews in the country is between 20,000 and 28,000, the most probable figure being 22,000. About 15,000 of them were born in Holland (this figure is based

on an assumed total of 20,000 in the whole of Holland), while the rest stem from Germany and Eastern Europe. Among these are about 2,400 Jewish refugees who were granted asylum between 1933 and 1939. Two-thirds of them were naturalized early in 1952 and most of the remainder thereafter.

The majority of the Jews live in the larger cities: Amsterdam (11,000 to 13,000), The Hague (about 1,700), Rotterdam (900), Arnhem, Utrecht, and Groningen (about 400 each). As for the rest, there is a sprinkling of Jews living in various places which were formerly parts of a Kehillah.

Formerly flourishing Jewish communities are reduced to small numbers.

The Sephardim have practically disappeared and number at present about 900 souls only. Many of them are Ashkenazic-born wives or even husbands of Sephardic spouses, as well as the children of Sephardic-Ashkenazic marriages.

Another phenomenon of great importance is the almost complete absence of a younger generation, those between 25 and 35 years. The majority of Jewish youth were exterminated by the Nazis and those who survived emigrated either to Israel or elsewhere. There is also a marked preponderance of women over men.

The Jewish community was reduced not only by emigration but, to some extent, also by conversion to Christianity and intermarriage, particularly immediately after the war.

From this situation arises the fact that, whereas before the war practically every Dutchman knew of Jews and the Jewish customs from first-hand experience, today there is already a Dutch generation to whom the Jew is a theoretical being.

F. Economical and Financial Position

The economic position of the Dutch Jews is generally good. It is true that the rehabilitation and restoration work proceeded slowly and was attended with many difficulties. But this does not alter the fact that after much effort on the part of the Jews, and

after many skillfully conducted legal procedures, a large part of the stolen properties were returned to their Jewish owners.

The heirless property was transferred to a special organization and the banks were ordered to pay considerable amounts to indemnify for the securities stolen by the Germans.

Despite this recovery, the Dutch Jews do not play the role in the economic life that they did before the war. A case in point is the diamond industry, which before the war was almost exclusively in Jewish hands, but at present is overwhelmingly in Gentile hands. As a result of the changes in the economic position of the Jews, a vocational retraining process is under way, which is reflected in the existence of 25 ORT courses for adults. In many cases vocational retraining is undertaken with a view to emigration overseas.

The fact that the Netherlands was the first European country able to dispense with the greatly appreciated help of the Joint, was made possible by the complete success of a Dutch United Appeal. The *Centrale Financierings Actie* (Central Fundraising Drive) collects annually approximately 500,000 guilders. This may be onscidered a generous sum if one takes into consideration what is given for Israel over and above this amount.

G. Spiritual and Cultural Life

(a) *Spiritual Expression.*—The spiritual imprint of all this work is positively Jewish and national. There is a united Zionist organization in which Misrachi, General, and Leftist Zionists are joined together. Notwithstanding the tension that this sometimes produces, the system does have great advantages. The work for the young is very intensive. There are youth groups for those in the ages of 6 to 20. During the summer months there are camps and seminars for youths of every school of thought. With these activities, the shortage of leaders is felt all the more keenly. Again and again the best go to Israel. On the other hand, the work is inspired by emissaries from Israel who replace one another from time to time.

(b) *Youth Movement.*—The Youth Movement performs an important and urgent task. For many young folk living outside the large towns, it is their only Jewish contact. In this connection it is worth noting the activity as regards teachers. The situation at the moment is such that every Jewish child, no matter where in the Netherlands, can receive tutoring, if so desired.

Among the older youths, too, a lot more studying is done than in former days, and in some cases the knowledge of Hebrew is above the average.

In this connection mention must also be made of the Zionist activity among the student youth. While in other countries complaints have often been heard that study and intellectualism estranges the youth from Judaism, one can say that here the very fact that many young people go to university, tends to make them conscious of their Jewishness. There is an important shift in the direction of study. Among those attending institutions of higher learning, the technical and medical students now predominate as against the great number of law students in former days. It is apparent that fields are sought which offer greater Israel or international opportunities.

One of the unfulfilled Jewish wishes in the Netherlands is the erection of hostels for Jewish students. A newly-established Hillel Foundation by the Dutch B'nai B'rith is an attempt to supply this need somewhat.

(c) *Zionism.*—The positive aspect of the changed circumstances is the Zionist, or better still, the pro-Israel attitude of the average Dutch Jew. The above-mentioned "aliyah" of a large group of Zionists, among whom were many meritorious older and younger leaders, meant a considerable sacrifice on the part of those remaining behind. The Collective Israel Appeal raises half a million guilders for Israel yearly. Moreover, large amounts are invested in Israel directly or via Israel Bonds. Practically every Dutch Jew has relatives or friends in Israel, and the percentage who have visited Israel, at least once, is very high. The whole of Jewish life here is imbued with Israel sentiments.

It is assumed that about 10 per cent of the Jewish population is organized in the Zionist movement, which comprises 28 units. The number of registered Zionists has diminished as a result of emigration and death (by about 400 since 1951). The largest organization is in Amsterdam, with a membership of 927 at the end of last year.

(d) *Assimilation and Disintegration.*—As against this Zionism—which for many has meant the preservation of the Jewish way of life—we find disintegration, which is equally the result of the uprooting caused by the war. Many Jews, young as well as old, stood quite alone and at a loose end after the war. They found no Jewish family circle or ties, no Jewish groups, and stood lost in the non-Jewish population. Mixed marriages are the result thereof, and growing baptism, though the latter in smaller measure.

Many a young girl, finding herself in a situation where she met few or no Jews, has contracted a mixed marriage, no Jewish mate being available.

(e) *Religious Affairs.*—Next to the Ashkenazic Dutch Jews' Congregation (*Nederlands-Israelitisch Kerkgenootschap*) there exists a small Sephardic congregation in Amsterdam (with about 900 members) and, nominally, in the Hague (40 Portuguese Jews), as well as a Liberal group (with about 300 members, mostly middle-aged former German Jews). The Dutch Jews' Congregation is a national organization in which all the Kehillot are linked together. As in the past, it is on an Orthodox basis, although this does not mean that the members live in accordance with Orthodox precepts. However, the majority of Dutch Jews prefer unity to religious differentiations. The Dutch Jews' Congregation has congregations in 60 localities as against 150 before the war. The Sephardic congregation was hard hit by the deportation of its members during the Nazi occupation. The Portuguese Jews were let alone, promises being dangled before them in a treacherous manner that they would be exchanged for people from abroad. Suddenly, however, they were arrested *en masse.* Because they were confident of their position, only a few had gone into

hiding. The small number who returned, are active and zealously maintain all their old institutions, among them the world-famous Portuguese Synagogue.

The Liberal group, originally founded by German immigrants, has been more active during the last year, and there is more debating over the issues of Orthodoxy vs. Liberalism.

Religous life is confined mostly to the large cities (for instance, Amsterdam has six synagogues), though one may add that the average age of the persons attending divine services is low. It is noteworthy that there are always a number of young people present, and one can certainly not say that it is the grandfathers who uphold the remnants of the old Judaism. On the contrary, it is exactly among the young families and youth that there is the desire for an active religious life. However, of the estimated 13,000 Jews in Amsterdam, only 6,000 belong to the Jewish congregations. In this field far more could be done if only there were more rabbis and religious instructors available. It appears to be exceptionally difficult, however, to attract people from abroad, although the Netherlands offers an attractive field for active and ambitious teachers.

The Ashkenazim have three rabbis in the whole of Holland and the Sephardim one. Most of the synagogues in the countryside have been sold and converted into churches, factories, schools, museums, etc.

After the first needs for social assistance had been attended to, more attention began to be given to the pastoral work, especially during the last years. The Liberal group as well as the Congregation endeavors to reach the large numbers who, being alone in a non-Jewish environment, no longer lead a Jewish life nor can they find their way to doing so.

(f) *Jewish Education*.—Much has been done by Dutch Jewry to promote Jewish education among the young, through religious classes (traveling teachers give instruction in the smaller communities weekly or fortnightly) and schools. The program, however, has been hampered by a shortage of teachers. In the schools Hebrew plays a prominent role. In Amsterdam there is a Jewish

Day School with an enrollment of 200 and a kindergarten with 140 children. In the Talmud Torah (afternoon school) about 80 children between 8 and 17 years of age receive a strictly Jewish education. Amsterdam also has a Jewish secondary school (the only one in the country) with 100 pupils. The Hague has a Jewish kindergarten. The Rabbinical and Teachers Seminary is open again, but for evening classes only, and at the moment courses are given only for those studying for a teacher's degree.

H. Summary

Dutch Jewry, ten years after the liberation, is an economically sound community, and positively Jewish and pro-Israel in spirit. Social work is conducted along modern lines and has at its disposal many institutions covering various sections. In general, one is internationally-minded and conscious of the relativity of the position of the Jew in the Golah. Notwithstanding the ties of love for Holland and complete loyalty as citizens, the strong feeling of Dutch chauvinism which was manifest before the war, has practically disappeared.

Despite these gains, Dutch Jewry, compared with its pre-war status, not only has diminished in numbers but its social composition and religious and cultural contents have fundamentally changed: the large Jewish masses have disappeared and there are also few intellectuals or professional persons among the remaining Jews.

One has tried to put the memory of the occupation years behind one. Many have sought their fortune elsewhere. Those who have remained find themselves faced with the cultural problem of how they and their children can share as much as possible in the spiritual Jewish renaissance of the times.

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BELGIUM

A. Pre-War Situation

Before World War II, the Jewish population of Belgium was put at 65,000 to 90,000. The number of Jews in the principal cities and towns was estimated as follows: approximately 30,000 in Brussels, 55,000 in Antwerp, 2,000 in Charleroi and Liège, 300 in Ghent, and 50 in Namur.

The great majority of these Jews (over 90 per cent) were recent immigrants and had not yet acquired Belgian citizenship. Most of them were small merchants or artisans working chiefly at ready-to-wear and leather goods, the last-named industry having made great progress in Belgium thanks to them. Moreover, in Antwerp the Jews played an important role in the diamond industry. As for the professions, they were relatively little represented among the Jews, at least among those who immigrated after World War I.

B. Conditions during the German Occupation

While the German troops were invading Belgium (May, 1940), a large number of Jews (nearly 45,000), along with hundreds of thousands of Belgians fleeing the invader, sought refuge in France. Part of them returned to Belgium after the French-German armistice (June, 1940); the others, remaining in France, shared the fate of the Jews of France and were deported via Drancy, only a handful succeeding in escaping overseas.

Although anti-Jewish measures had been introduced immediately after the occupation, deportations did not commence until July, 1942. They began by striking at the foreign Jews, the Belgian Jews being spared thanks to the intercession of Queen Elizabeth and Cardinal Van Roey with General von Falkenstein, who was the head of the German civil administration for Belgium and Northern France. Nevertheless, on Hitler's orders, the promise not to maltreat the Belgian Jews was not kept and one night in September, 1943, the Belgian Jews knew in their turn the meaning of deportation.

By the end of the war, 27,000 Jews of Belgium (10,382 men, 9,987 women, and 4,363 minors under 16 years) had been deported to Auschwitz in 26 convoys spread over the period from April 8, 1942 to July 31, 1944, after having been interned for varying lengths of time at the Dossin Barracks in Malines, which served as an assembly center for Jews seized in the course of roundups. One thousand one hundred and ninety-six, or less than one person in twenty, survived and were repatriated after the war.

During the occupation the attitude of the Belgian population toward the Jews was generally very friendly and helpful. No doubt there were collaborators and Nazi sympathizers among the Belgians, who in certain regions assisted in the roundups of Jews, but the greater part of the population disapproved of the anti-Jewish persecutions and many a time lent its aid to the Jews by helping them to flee and offering them shelter.

It is fitting to point out the role played by the Catholic clergy in rescuing Jews, the monasteries often offering refuge to the latter and especially to Jewish children, more than 2,500 of whom were saved in this manner. The Resistance organizations themselves also made a splendid contribution to this rescue work. Cooperating with the Jewish Resistants (Committee for the Defense of Jews—Armed Jewish Resistants), they provided numerous Jews with hiding places, forged identity and ration cards, thus enabling them to hide and to escape deportation.

As regards more particularly the activity of the Armed Jewish

Resistants, it is fitting to call attention to the remarkable feat they performed in attacking a convoy of deportees which had left Malines for Auschwitz, thereby assuring the liberation of more than a thousand persons.

Finally, let us stress the valuable cooperation given to this rescue action by the Belgian authorities and particularly by most of the local governments. It is specially due to the ill will which these authorities manifested toward the orders of the German occupant that a number of anti-Jewish measures remained dead letters.

C. The Number of Jews after the War

Immediately after the end of the war the number of Jews in Belgium was estimated by *Le Matin* (Brussels) at 19,950. Of this total, approximately 1,500 were in Antwerp, about 15,000 in Brussels, some 1,200 in Liège, some 400 in Namur, and 150 in Ghent. However, the Bureau des Information Juives of Belgium estimated the number of Jews in that country in April, 1945 at 22,500, of whom only 2 per cent were Belgian citizens, while 40 per cent were of Polish nationality, 30 per cent of German and Austrian nationalities, 18 per cent were citizens of various other countries, and 10 per cent were stateless persons. After the cessation of hostilities, 1,196 Jews returned from deportation, 8,000 came back from France, Switzerland, England, and other countries of refuge, and 2,360 Jews who had not lived in the country before the war (displaced persons from Germany) settled in Belgium. Accordingly, at the beginning of 1946 the number of Jews in Belgium was put at about 32,000.

In the ensuing years the Jewish population was increased by returnees and immigrants, although until 1951—particularly, in 1947 and 1948—the emigration to Israel and the United States was considerable in relation to the number of Jews living in the country, involving 5,000 emigrants. After a period of adjustment to the economic life of Belgium, emigration soared again with the outbreak of the Korean war and the resulting fear

of a third World War. At that time 8,000 Jews registered for emigration to Israel and the United States, and 300-350 Jews left Belgium every month. Altogether, 12,000 Jews left the country in the postwar years, about 1,245 of them for Israel.

During the first five years after the war, immigration went on simultaneously with emigration and the Belgian Government hospitably offered the possibility of a haven, though a temporary one, to Jewish displaced persons. As late as 1950 the Belgian Government responded favorably to the request of the International Refugee Organization to grant disabled persons, without distinction as to nationality or religion, who were living at that time in DP camps, a permanent haven. In all, 6,000 Jewish displaced persons were admitted to Belgium, but 4,500 emigrated to other countries.

The exact number of Jews in Belgium at present is not known. In 1951 HIAS estimated the Jewish population of that country as high as 45,000. According to the *Israelitische Wochenblatt* of Zurich, there were 35,000—40,000 Jews in Belgium at the end of 1949, of whom 7,000—8,000 had come to the country after the war. Michel Salomon, in his article "In the Lands of Benelux," (*Jewish Frontier,* February, 1950) put the Jewish population of Belgium at 40,000, while, according to a writer in the London *Jewish Chronicle Supplement* (June 19, 1953), the estimated number of Jews in Belgium was only 25,000, of whom 15,000, or 60 per cent, were to be found in Brussels. On the basis of the figures cited above, it may be assumed that the present Jewish population of Belgium does not exceed 30,000.

D. The Legal Status of Belgian Jewry

Before the war, about 5.5 per cent of the Jews of Belgium possessed Belgian citizenship.

This small proportion of Belgian citizens among the Jewish population was not due to any discrimination against Jews, but actually to the rigid and restrictive legislation governing the acquisition of Belgian citizenship. The latter requires, as a con-

dition, total assimilation to the morals and mentality of the population of the country, which has the effect of putting obstacles in the way of obtaining Belgian citizenship—the fact, for example, that a foreigner frequents schools or organizations of a "national" character, that he has economic and social contacts solely or mainly with compatriots of his country of origin, that he has a poor knowledge of the languages of the country, etc.

The methods of applying this condition of naturalization have greatly changed for the better so that an increasing number of children of alien Jews have become citizens and the proportion of citizens among the Jewish population has considerably increased since the war; and although one cannot establish it with certainty, it would seem no exaggeration to estimate this proportion at present at 20 or even 25 per cent of the Jewish community.

Nevertheless, it is a fact that three-quarters of the Jews of Belgium remain aliens, without mentioning that this proportion must be appreciably still larger among adults. Now, if Jewish citizens of Belgium enjoy the same rights as other Belgians, there being no discrimination against them, whether in public employment or in private enterprise, the same is not true of alien Jews. The sojourn, work, and, in general, professional activity of aliens in Belgium are as a matter of fact strictly regulated.

It will readily be perceived that, caught in the toils of this regulation, the alien Jew, as an alien, can pursue his professional activity only with difficulty and is all too often forced to forego certain profitable ventures because of failure to obtain the necessary permission from the proper authorities. The situation is all the more difficult because the Jews generally work for others as well as for themselves in trades where unemployment and competition prevail (mainly ready-made garments, leather goods, furs).

As soon as the regulation concerning work cards for aliens was instituted (a regulation established in 1939, but not enforced until 1946), the Council of Jewish Associations, a World Jewish

Congress creation of that time in Belgium, intervened and sought to have special treatment accorded to Jews in this matter. That intervention failed, for it ran into two obstacles: the impossibility of envisaging discriminatory treatment in favor of a racial or religious group, and the danger of establishing a precedent which other national groups might invoke and which might practically render the regulation inoperative.

The special situation of Jews stemming from Germany, Austria, and Italy who after Hitler's accession to power, and also after the war, sought refuge in Belgium, was particularly difficult. These Jewish refugees were at first regarded as citizens of those countries and, therefore, treated as "alien enemies." Their property was sequestered, their bank accounts blocked, and they could not carry on any business. Commencing April, 1945, such Jews were considered "non-enemies"; after an investigation of their "moral integrity," they received a certificate of good conduct (*certificat de civisme*) which did away with the restrictions imposed on nationals of former enemy states. They were relieved of the obligation of reporting periodically to the police and of compulsory residence. But the general regulations concerning the custody of enemy property remained in force until May, 1947, when legislation was enacted for the return of property sequestered under prior ordinances.

Property belonging to such Jews was, as said, sequestered by the Government and restoration depended on proof that they were victims of the German occupation and that their behavior toward Belgium was irreproachable. Jews who could produce a certificate of "non-enemy" affiliation or who (or members of whose families) had served with the armed forces of the Allies or participated in the Resistance movement were automatically entitled to this "privilege."

It was not until February 25, 1952, that the Belgian Ministry of Justice declared that Jewish refugees from Germany would no longer be considered German nationals, thereby putting an end to the special measures against Jews coming from Germany.

Foreigners who were granted only temporary residence in

Belgium on the basis of a transit visa are the most unfortunate of all. They receive periodically notices from the Police of Foreigners reminding them that they must be sure to leave the country within a short time.

In practice the police usually do not take any steps to deport them. Jewish organizations, notably HIAS, intervene when deportation threatens and the police postpone it for some months. In the case of 5,000 Jews who had come to Belgium "illegally," the Emigration Office granted a stay of some months, basing the decision on the ground that the cooperation of HIAS was "guarantee that the matter is in good hands."

E. Restitution of Jewish Property

When the remnants of Belgian Jewry emerged from hiding or got back to Belgium, repatriated by the Belgian authorities from the countries (chiefly France, England, Switzerland, Spain) to which they had fled during the German occupation, they were confronted with the agonizing problem of finding dwellings and business premises. Those which they had possessed before the war were as a matter of fact occupied by new tenants, whether the latter had occupied them in good faith or, in less common cases, had come into possession of these premises through the favor of German authorities to whom they had rendered some service.

The problem was all the harder to solve because, as a result of the destruction caused by bombardments to buildings and the rush to the large centers by people from small country towns, an acute shortage of dwellings and business premises prevailed generally in Belgium. This no doubt explains why in 1945, when at the intercession of the Council of the Jewish Community of Brussels, the burgomasters of the Brussels area launched an appeal to the population to give temporary shelter to Jews who had lost their former quarters, the appeal met with little response.

The Government, therefore, had to intervene and on March 12, 1945, a decree was issued which authorized those whom the German occupation had forced to abandon their homes or

business premises to claim reinstatement in these places, and that even against bona fide occupants. These arrangements were incorporated in their entirety in the law of July 29, 1947, on the extension of leases which Parliament passed in order to cope with the effects of the housing shortage.

Restitution of property alienated during the German occupation was at first left to the general laws of the country. However, civil law proved inadequate to deal with most cases because it lacked the presumption of duress, i.e., the law put the burden of proof on the former owner.

The Council of Jewish Associations of Belgium and the World Jewish Congress made many demarches and intercessions with a view to the preparation and promulgation of a law which would establish the necessary presumption. On April 19, 1947, the relevant law was promulgated, enabling many Jews, victims of German spoliation, to regain their property which had been transferred to third parties.

The problem of the property of those Jews who perished without leaving any heirs has not been solved to this day. At first the Government intended to sell at auction the movable property of Jews who had died in concentration camps or whose fate was unknown. Owing to the protests of Belgian Jewry, which urged that in cases of established death where no heirs existed, the property be transferred to the Jewish community, the measure was rescinded, but the desired transfer did not take place.

The Government was of the opinion that such transfer was against the law (the latter provides that intestate successions to which there are no heirs revert to the State) and that to make special arrangements in favor of the Jewish organizations would create a dangerous precedent. Nevertheless, the authorities showed themselves extremely broad-minded in the appraisal of claims to the inheritance by successional candidates, and it would seem that the largest part of the property held back by the State has found an owner among the more or less distant relatives of the missing Jews.

A particular problem was presented by the restitution of diamonds plundered by the Germans. During the first two years of the occupation, the Germans looted 940,000 carats of diamonds in Belgium. After the end of the war, the American Army found in Goettingen, Germany, 15 bags containing 167,000 carats of the stolen gems, valued at hundreds of thousands of dollars, which were handed over to the Belgian authorities. The surviving diamond dealers formed a syndicate to trace the stolen stones and safeguard the rights of the lawful owners.

F. Economic Rehabilitation and Position of the Jews

The process of reintegration into the economic life of the country had a very slow start and was attended with enormous difficulties.

About 80 per cent of the Jews were without homes, furniture, and clothing. Their state of health was very poor. A medical examination of 3,000 families, comprising 6,100 individuals, showed that 1,899 persons, or 31.13 per cent, were ill and unfit for work. This ratio was true for the total Jewish population of Belgium.

During the first two years after the war, from 8,000 to 10,000 Jews lived on relief. Needy Jews, Belgian citizens and those who had resided in the country for more than ten years, received doles from the municipalities.

On the other hand, within the limits of the law on the status of a political prisoner and those having a rightful claim on him (February 26, 1947), a certain number of deported Jews or those having a rightful claim on them (spouse or children) benefited from indemnities and reparation payments sufficiently large to provide them a springboard for economic rehabilitation. If the number of Jews benefiting from this status was limited, it is because the status of political prisoner was granted only to Belgians; a foreigner could obtain it only if he proved that his deportation or internment by the Germans had been the result of his political activity in the Resistance movement. Thus foreign

Jews deported solely for a racial reason, as well as those having a rightful claim on them, were excluded from the benefits of this status. As regards the latter, however, an exception was made for Belgian-born children of deported aliens, who on that account could acquire Belgian nationality by opting for their native country.

The same limitations appear in the law on compensation for war damage to possessions.

Although few Jews benefited by these laws, the Ministry of Reconstruction, according to an estimate of *The Jewish Chronicle* (London), distributed to needy foreign Jews nearly thirty-four million francs (about $243,000) over and above the eighteen million francs it bestowed upon Jewish orphans and orphanages.

Those Jews who could not obtain help from the Belgian authorities were taken care of either by the International Refugee Organization or by the Jewish relief organizations such as the Joint Distribution Committee and the Aid to Jewish War Victims (Aide aux Israelites victimes de la Guerre, AVIG for short).

The Government's assistance was not confined to charitable measures. It also provided for the cultural needs of the Jewish communities, paid the salaries of Jewish teachers and rabbis, on the same basis as to other religious congregations. Some municipal councils provided funds for the repair of synagogues damaged by the Germans and for the resumption of religious activities.

During 1945-1946 seven canteens subsidized by the Joint served meals to 12,000 persons. Toward the end of 1946, two of the canteens were closed because the situation had improved. The Joint also distributed clothing and household goods and granted monthly subventions to 5,470 persons. Little by little the situation began to improve. In 1948, the Joint assisted only 3,000 people financially. The decline was due not only to the economic improvement, but also to the fact that by this time the number of persons holding transit visas had decreased while the number of those entitled to public aid had increased. The

stabilization of the economic situation in Belgium commenced in 1950; this had a favorable effect on Jewish life: in Brussels, that year, only 320 children and 80 aged persons living in a special home had to be supported while cash relief was given to 2,800 people. By 1952 the situation of the Jewish workers and merchants had improved and they could more easily find jobs and business opportunities. The food situation had also grown better and the health of the Jews nearly approached that of the average Belgian. The Jews engaged mostly in the diamond, clothing, leather, and fur industries, as well as in the wholesale and retail trades.

At present the economic situation in Belgium is not too good. The percentage of the unemployed among Jews is relatively higher than among natives because of the slight number of Belgian citizens among them, and because aliens labor under the handicaps described above. There is a crisis in the clothing, leather, and fur industries, in which Jewish workers constitute a considerable majority. In the diamond industry, where 3,800 Jews (out of a total of 4,500) are now employed, there are many unemployed because the majority of these shops suspend their operations for several weeks or even months.

In order to help Belgian Jews adjust vocationally to the new economic conditions, ORT in 1946 established a branch in Belgium and opened trade schools there. Similarly, the Jewish Colonization Association resumed its vocational training program for Jewish youth and granted loans to needy Jewish artisans. The latter manifested their self-reliance and ability to adapt themselves to the altered economic situation by starting to organize cooperatives as early as 1945. Thus there was established a tailors' cooperative which contracted to work for the Allied Armed Forces. Later some 450 small artisans and businessmen were organized in a union which operated on a mutual aid basis. Unskilled women workers set up a cooperative for the manufacture of cleansing powder.

The Belgian Government, and particularly the Municipality of Antwerp, was very much concerned to restore the Belgian

diamond industry, the center of which was Antwerp, and in which the Jews had played the leading role. Although during the war non-Jews had filled the places previously occupied by the deported or emigrated Jews, the Belgian Government feared lest the Jewish jewelers who had settled in other countries should become competitors of the Belgian diamond industry. A representative of the Belgian Government visited England at the begining of 1945 and tried to organize the return of the Jews who had fled Belgium. The Municipality of Antwerp took steps to assist the Jewish residents of that city in the recovery of their property rights and also in overcoming the anti-Jewish sentiment which was strong after the liberation, especially when the question of returning Jewish property arose. In the ensuing years a considerable number of Jewish diamond dealers and polishers returned to Antwerp, which, notwithstanding that this industry has also developed in Israel, Holland, New York, London, and even Brazil, continues to play a leading role in the international diamond trade.

G. Religious, Organizational, and Cultural Endeavor

(1) *Religious Life.*—As the most accepted estimates indicate, numerically Brussels and Antwerp are in the order named the two largest centers of Belgian Jewry.

Let us underscore at once that the Jewish community of Antwerp seems more cohesive and homogenous than that of Brussels. It is so from a geographical point of view, for if the Jews of Brussels have since the war manifested a tendency to scatter all over the Brussels aggregation (the chain of autonomous localities comprising Greater Brussels), the "Jewish quarter" of Antwerp still exists where it was situated even before the "Nazi purge," namely, near the central railroad station and more particularly in Kiviet and Pelicaan straat, those streets which are so typical of a traditional Jewish atmosphere such as one does not find in Brussels today. It is the same with

respect to mental habit, for in its overwhelming majority the Jewish community of Antwerp is very much attached to religious orthodoxy, whereas in Brussels liberalism prevails which is conducive to a certain religious indifference, something that is virtually unknown in Antwerp. The mere fact that the Jewish community of Antwerp has six synagogues at its disposal, not counting the many places of worship which are open only on major holidays, while that of Brussels possesses only two, shows significantly the distance which separates the two communities with respect to the observance of the Jewish religion. Let us add that the cities of Liège, Ostend, and Arlon also possess their synagogues, while in the small Jewish centers, such as Namur and Ghent, places of worship exist only on the High Holy Days.

Generally speaking, moreover, not more than a thousand persons among the Jewish poulation of the country are enrolled in the religious congregations and regularly pay them their assessments.

Seventeen rabbis, all of them of foreign birth (the recruiting of ministers of religion being difficult locally) direct the Jewish communities and congregations of Belgium. Under the Belgian law concerning ecclesiastical matters, they receive a salary from the Government.

(2) *Organizational Activity.*—If Antwerp may be considered the center of Jewish religious life in the country, although the seat of the Central Jewish Consistory (Consistoire centrale israelite), the official organization linking together 24 Jewish Communities, is in Brussels, it is the capital which constitutes the center of Jewish political and cultural life, especially since the end of the war.

In fact, it is Brussels that is the headquarters of the Zionist Federation of Belgium, an organization around which practically the entire national Jewish life of the country revolves.

Established by representatives of all Zionist parties (in 1952 Brussels numbered 800 Mizrachi, 1,000 Mapam, 650 Mapai, 1,200 General Zionists, and 1,200 Zionists unaffiliated with any party), the Zionist Federation carries on an activity which extends far

beyond the strictly political domain. Besides numerous demonstrations, mass meetings, lectures which it organizes all over the country to promote the realization of its Zionist objectives, the Federation performs a meritorious task in the sphere of instruction in Hebrew, the Jewish education of youth, preparing young people for immigration to Israel (beginning with 1945 hachshara camps were set up under its aegis). Every year, it organizes summer camps for children and vacation trips to Israel for youth; it has established a Hebraists' club as well as Hebrew courses, and in addition subsidizes Jewish schools. Finally, the Federation publishes fortnightly a French-language periodical, which, since 1951, has been the only Jewish publication in the country.

It is mainly owing to and around the activities of the Zionist Federation that an intense national Jewish life goes on in the country, despite the far from favorable conditions which Belgium offers for its development.

To be sure, there are other Jewish political organizations in Belgium, but their activities tend to decline from year to year, as is the case with the Bund-Union of Jewish Socialists, or to lose every national Jewish trait, as is true of Solidarité Juive, an organization of an anti-Zionist and assimilationary spirit with extreme leftist tendencies.

Let us point out that after the war an attempt was made to coordinate the activities of the Jewish organizations of the country. On April 26, 1945, a general meeting of representatives of all Jewish organizations voted to form a central body in Brussels to be known as Conseil des Associations Juives de Belgique (Council of Jewish Associations of Belgium) and to affiliate it with the World Jewish Congress. This coordinating body existed for two years, but after the general situation had improved, some organizations were of the opinion that each of them should have an opportunity to pursue its own objectives independently, and the Council was accordingly dissolved. Attempts were also made to create such a coordinating body in

Antwerp and to have both bodies cooperate, but this never materialized.

Belgian Jewry also tried to forge new links with world Jewry. Affiliation with the World Jewish Congress, reinstallation of a B'nai B'rith lodge, organization of a Zionist Month as early as March, 1945, convocation of a European Mizrachi conference, establishment of Belgian branches of ORT and OSE,—these are some examples of the activities of Belgian Jewry in its effort to serve the common interest of all Jewry.

(3) *Welfare and Cultural Work.*—In the field of social assistance, a number of Jewish welfare societies, the most important of which is Aide aux Israelites victimes de la Guerre (Assistance for Jewish War Victims), are grouped together in a central organization, Centrale des Oeuvres sociales juives, and conduct coordinated activities with a view to assuring the Jewish population of a modicum of well-being. The role of these societies was particularly important in the first years of the postwar period, during which they contributed effectively to the economic and social rehabilitation of the survivors of the Jewish community of Belgium.

A great effort is being made within Belgian Jewry in behalf of Jewish education for the young.

In Antwerp there exist two Jewish Day Schools attended by 1,000 pupils (the Tachkemoni School and Yesod Hatorah). Besides, not far from Antwerp, in the small town of Cappelen, there is a Talmudical academy.

In Brussels there is a Jewish Day School, l'Ecole israelite (150 pupils), as well as three afternoon schools: that of the Orthodox Jewish Congregation, that of Mapam (I. L. Peretz School), and that of the Arbeiter Ring (Bund).

All these schools together are attended by 295 children in the ages of 6 to 14 years, an inadequate number if one remembers that the total number of Jewish children in this age group is estimated at 1,200-1,500.

As for youths of 12 to 18 years, whose number in Brussels is estimated at 2,000, they receive no Jewish education, if one

leaves out of account the efforts made by the Zionist Federation, other than that which is imparted to them weekly by the classes in Jewish religion and history (45 to 90 minutes a week) established by the State at intermediate and high schools under the provisions of the School Law. It is under the same law that the Jewish schools receive subsidies from the State, subsidies which have just been reduced in accordance with a new law reducing the State's subventions for religious instruction, a measure which a few months ago provoked Catholic demonstrations of protest in the country.

Jewish young people can obtain a national education within the five Zionist Youth Movements with an aggregate membership of 275, and the Youth Groups of the B'nai B'rith (50 to 75 members). Finally, the Maccabi groups (200 members) bring together Jewish devotees of sport.

H. Jewish Orphans

Next to Denmark, Belgium enjoys the distinction of holding first place in the matter of saving Jewish children from the Nazi barbarians. They were placed with Catholic families and in Catholic institutions. Of particular interest are the activities of Father André, who took care of some 40 children and brought them up in a Jewish national and even Zionist spirit.

The return of the children, especially of orphans, to Jewish surroundings was a very delicate task, because in a great many cases the foster parents had done their best for the health and morale of their charges and become strongly attached to them. Moreover, the children themselves had lost all memory of their families and religion. But there were few cases where relatives or Jewish organizations met with resistance on the part of the Gentiles in reclaiming the children. There was no *proces celebre* in Belgium like the Finaly Case in France. The majority of the Catholic clergy was against the forcible retention of Jewish children in a Christian environment. The general opinion

of the clergy was that in such a delicate question the welfare of the child should play the decisive part and in many cases it intervened in behalf of relatives of the orphans when they asked foster parents to return their Jewish charges.

The Belgian courts also assisted in the return of Jewish children to Jewish surroundings. As early as December, 1945, the Vice President of the Civil Court in Brussels ruled that children whose parents had been deported and did not return within a considerable period of time should be placed in the custody of a legal guardian at the request of their surviving relatives. In his ruling the judge stressed the desirability of restoring Jewish children to their traditional environment and condemned the attempts of foster parents to prevent such a procedure.

The most recent case was tried on August 7, 1955. It concerned a Mlle. F. Herard, a Catholic school teacher, who in 1943 adopted a two-year-old Jewish boy after his parents had been murdered by Nazis in Antwerp, baptized the child, and changed his name. Some time ago, the boy's uncle learned of the fate of his nephew and instituted proceedings for the "restitution of the boy's identity." The court awarded to him the custody of his nephew. Mlle. Herard hid the boy in a clinic, where he was found and returned to his uncle; the woman was arrested.

The return of Jewish children from non-Jewish homes started immediately after the liberation. In Januray, 1946, there still were 435 Jewish children with Gentile foster parents, but at the end of that year, there were only 82. During the same period 131 children returned from non-Jewish institutions to Jewish families or hostels. At present, all but a few Jewish children have been restored to Jewish surroundings.

Jewish organizations took care of orphans who remained without relatives. In March, 1955, the Association to Aid Jewish War Victims opened a new orphanage in Brussels for 80 children and adolescents whose parents had been deported by the Nazis.

I. Prospects of Belgian Jewry

This cursory survey of the situation of Belgian Jewry may leave the reader with a pessimistic impression about its future. Such an impression would be wrong, however.

Unquestionably, the Jewish community of Belgium suffers from the ills which afflict a large number of Jewish communities in the Diaspora: assimilation (especially of the youth), mixed marriages (a fairly common occurrence in Brussels, but almost unknown in Antwerp), etc. All these ills, however, are not beyond remedy and one should not exaggerate their gravity.

In reality, Belgian Jewry is quite alive, but it has assumed a wholly new aspect compared with what it was before the war. Whereas formerly it consisted mainly of foreign Jews stemming for the most part from Eastern Europe and nourished at the very sources of the spiritual heritage accumulated in the ghettos, it is becoming more and more a community of Jews rid of the alien's complex and who, living in a traditionally liberal country where anti-Semitism manifests itself only sporadically and in mild forms, do not feel, like their forebears, the need of affirming their Jewish consciousness in a spectacular manner.

This consciousness nevertheless exists and the broad masses which gather at the public meetings arranged by the Jewish political organizations of the country constitute a living proof of it. If the Jews of Belgium attend synagogue less, if they manifest a tendency to rid themselves of certain Jewish traditions which in modern life hamper their existence, they continue none the less to visit one another, to manifest their traditional solidarity in daily life, and what is most important, to take a keen interest in Jewish affairs.

In this respect the existence of the State of Israel plays a major role, as everywhere else, in the survival of Jewish consciousness among the Jews of Belgium, and we could cite in this connection numerous cases of persons who in everyday life

seem quite estranged from everything Jewish but nevertheless manifest on all occasions, sometimes in a very discreet but substantial way, their attachment to that which justly seems to them Jewry's most precious possession: Israel.

Thus Belgian Jewry remains quite alive but has assumed new forms and bases its Jewish consciousness upon the concrete values of its time. It is up to the Jewish organizations and institutions of the country, while adjusting to the new reality, to foster within the Jewish community an awareness of these values and thereby assure the continuity of Belgian Jewry.

LUXEMBOURG

A. Introductory

In the Grand Duchy of Luxembourg, a small country but one that is rich in and proud of its democratic institutions, the number of Jews had risen from 3,144 in 1935 to about 5,000 by the beginning of 1940 as a result of arrivals from the Saar and refugees from Hitler-dominated lands. The ancient Jewish community which had been reconstituted in 1791 in the wake of the French Revolution, was preparing to celebrate its 150th anniversary in the modern era, when the German armies invaded the tiny country on May 10, 1940.

In the night of the invasion 700 Jews fled from the capital and country towns, while another 400 were evacuated by French troops from the mining district of Esch-sur-Alzette. There remained about 3,900 Jews, in utter anguish and terror. A wave of arrests and suicides followed when the VDB (Volksdeutsche Bewegung—Popular German Movement) emerged from underground and stepped up the persecution of the Jews.

When, on August 7, 1940, the rule of the military was replaced by a civil administration, the entire body of anti-Jewish legislation of the Nazis was promulgated in Luxembourg on September 5, 1940; the possessions of the Jews were declared "Volksvermoegen," they were eliminated from economic and social life, and Jews up to the age of 58 (later up to 70 and over) were assigned to forced labor in quarries and in the building of roads and express highways, and ghettoized in communal quarters.

Simultaneously, a policy of expulsion and deportation was

put into effect. The Grand Rabbi and the Consistory took steps to evacuate the community to the West. During the period from August 8, 1940, to October 15, 1941, five convoys with a total of 689 Jews were sent off in the direction of Portugal with overseas destination, while approximately 2,000 more were taken in groups of 20 to 50 illegally over the demarcation line at Dijon to the temporary saftey of unoccupied France, and another 200 were moved to the relatively better climate in Belgium.

The possibility of evacuation ended on the 15th of October, 1941. Those remaining after that date were deported and fell victim to the "Final Solution." In the period from October 16, 1941, to April 6, 1943, two transports brought 396 Jews to the Ghetto of Lodz, one transport took 24 Jews directly to Auschwitz, and three transports brought 309 Jews to Theresienstadt. On the 7th of April 1943, Luxembourg was "judenrein."

B. Restoration of Jewish Life

After the liberation of Luxembourg by the United States armies in the fall of 1944, about 70 Jews emerged from hiding; their number was soon increased by returnees from Belgium, France, Switzerland, and Italy. A newly-formed Consistory, with Israel Cerf as president, reconstituted the basic services of the community. After the unconditional surrender of Nazi Germany in May, 1945, the number of Jews was augmented by 35 survivors of the extermination camps in Poland and of Theresienstadt. Shortly afterwards, the return of Luxembourg Jews from the Western Hemisphere set in. Thanks to these homecomers from all parts of Europe and America, the Jewish population rose steadily, to reach the number of approximately 1,200 in 1955.

This, then, is the balance sheet of the tragedy suffered by Luxembourg Jewry at the hands of the Nazis: 1,400 perished in the gas chambers of the extermination camps in Poland or in Theresienstadt, half of whom had been deported directly from Luxembourg, while another 700 had been deported from Southern France by the agents of the Vichy regime or by the Nazis after

their occupation of the Free Zone in November, 1942; 2,500 chose to remain abroad, about 500 in the neighboring countries of Western Europe and over 2,000 in the United States and in various countries of Latin America, where they had found a new home.

In 1946, the Consistory, led by Edmond Marx, embarked upon the difficult task of reconstruction. The legislation enacted by the Luxembourg Chamber of Deputies for restitution to and rehabilitation of the victims of Nazi persecution, helped the Jews to re-integrate themselves into the economic and social life of the country. Under the guidance of the first postwar Grand Rabbi, Dr. Joseph Kratzenstein, but especially since 1949 with the active cooperation of his successor, Dr. Charles Lehrmann, the religious, cultural, and philanthropic institutions were rebuilt. At the same time, some of the rural communities, particularly those in Esch and Ettelbruck, arose from the ashes and recreated the foundations of Jewish life.

Soon a network of organizations made its appearance. The "Ezra" was reconstituted and resumed its work of aid and sheltering. The Jewish Society of Ladies became again active in the field of charity and mutual assistance. A Home for the Aged, the first in the history of Luxembourg Jewry, was established in 1954, thanks to the initiative of Dr. Henri Cerf. Social and cultural life found a platform anew in the Society of Young Jewish Men. Alert to its great tasks in the domain of Jewish culture and adult education, the Jewish Consistory of Luxembourg, which is a constituent member of the World Jewish Congress, created a Cultural Section within its administration to organize lectures and to establish a library. A Luzembourg branch of B'nai B'rith was founded.

To link Luxembourg more closely to the Jewish State, its consolidation and growth, a number of Israel-oriented organizations display great activity, among them the United Israel Fund, the Friends of the Hebrew University, the Religious Front (Hazit Datit), the Luxembourg Branch of the Wizo, and "Adama," a pioneering group of college students.

Jewish life received signal impulses when the synagogues in Luxembourg, Esch, and Mondorf, rebuilt with the help of the State, were rededicated in 1953 and 1954.

Yet, Luxembourg's Jewish community is far from having recovered from the losses suffered at the hands of the Nazis. Numerically, it has shrunk to about one-fourth of its pre-war size. And Jewishly, it is in grave danger because of a lessening of the religious spirit, widespread non-observance of Jewish traditions and particularly of kashrut, inadequate Jewish education of children and youth, indifference, assimilationary trends, an alarming increase of mixed marriages, and outright apostasy. In the 150 years before the rise of Hitlerism, the Luxembourg Jewish community was again and again threatened by similar tendencies. But the gaps that desertion opened in the structure of the community were always closed by the influx of Jews from the east, mainly from Germany and Poland, who in 1939 constituted about three-fifths of the Jewish population. Today, this hinterland exists no longer as a reservoir of Jewish regeneration, neither for Luxembourg nor for other countries of Western Europe. In the future, the Luxembourg Jewish community can rely only on its own resources for survival. Aware of their long history in Luxembourg, the Jews of the Grand Duchy may find in themselves, in cooperation with the neighboring Jewish communities and in the building of bridges to reborn Israel, the strength to overcome the temporary decline and to resume a full Jewish life.

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NORWAY

Before the last war, Norway had a Jewish community of about 1,400 souls, mostly second-generation immigrants from Russia, Lithuania, and Poland. The 1920 census listed 1,457 Jews, of whom 852 lived in Oslo, 268 in Trondheim, and the rest in a number of smaller places. In 1940, the total was 1,359. Despite their small number, the Norwegian Jews maintained an organized Jewish life, had a youth center, and published a Zionist monthly (in Oslo).

During the war, the Nazi invaders deported the majority of the Jews (714, of whom only 13 came back), but between 400 to 500 succeeded in escaping to Sweden and a few to England, while some remained in hiding. Seven hundred and fifty perished. After the war, Norway admitted several groups of DPs, aggregating about 600 (about 300 in 1947 and 1948 and about 250 in the years 1949-1953) mainly tubercular cases (from Foehrenwald, Austria, and Italy), with the JDC providing financial aid for the expansion of rehabilitation services in Norway for these Nazi victims. However, not all of these immigrants remained in Norway; about 300 emigrated to Israel, U.S.A., and Canada. As a result, there are at present about 800 to 1,000 Jews, although some recent estimates go as high as 1,200. At the end of 1953 (before the arrival of the latest DP groups), the number of Jews in Norway was put at 836, most of whom live in Oslo (about 500) and Trondheim (about 140). The rest are scattered in small groups, some of them consisting of not more than 6 to 8 persons; these are mostly the new immigrants. Since the largest part of those who perished at the hands of the Nazis were children and

adolescents, there are practically no Jewish youths outside Oslo.

With the end of the war, most of the surviving Jews returned to Norway. The returnees were promptly given back their property and they set out to rebuild their communal life.

Most of the Jews (about 80 per cent) are members of the Jewish congregations to which they pay a tax, fixed in proportion to their income. The Oslo congregation comprises also the Jews living in the vicinity of the capital. On April 1, 1955, the Oslo Community counted 260 members (heads of families). Its budget amounts to about kr. 75,000 ($10,500) annually and it has received legacies totaling kr. 381,000 ($54,000). Its leadership consists mainly of truly observing Jews.

Most of the Norwegian Jews observe kashrut, although all kosher meat, with the exception of fowl, is imported from Denmark (shechitah has been prohibited since 1929). Contrary to the situation in the other Scandinavian countries, there is almost no intermarriage in Norway. The reason lies mainly in the deep and warm Jewish sentiments of the majority of the Jews. Despite their small number, the Jews of Norway possess a Zionist organization, a B'nai B'rith lodge, and a JNF committee. The younger generation is deeply interested in Israel and Zionism, with a positive approach to Jewish affairs generally. The "Jewish Youth Organization" is the most active Jewish body in Oslo, with about 200 members aged 16 years and over. A peculiarity of this organization is that there is no upper age limit so that a large number of the members are over fifty years old. The organization maintains a Youth Center in Oslo.

In the whole of Norway there exists a single synagogue (Orthodox)—in Oslo (a prayer house also exists in Trondheim, replacing the synagogue which was destroyed in 1942 by the Nazis). Because of the small number of Jews, services are held there on Sabbath and holidays only. The Norwegian Jews have only one rabbi (in Oslo), who frequently travels around the country to provide religious guidance to the country Jews. He is also the only teacher in Hebrew classes, which in 1954 were

attended by 23 pupils ranging in age from seven to 13 years. There is no Jewish publication (except a brochure published by the Youth Center—in Norwegian—about general Jewish problems) and very litttle contact with the outside Jewish world, except for the Youth Organization, which is a member of the Scandinavian Jewish Youth Federation, which this year held its 30th annual convention. The Youth Organization maintains a country place which serves as a summer camp and a winter week-end cottage; it organizes study groups, lectures, annual balls, and conferences.

The Jews of Norway, including the new immigrants, are economically quite well off. The majority are employed in the retail trade (mainly clothing and linen); practically none is employed in industry, banking, or insurance, and only a few in the arts (music, painting).

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IV

COMMUNITIES WITH RELATIVELY SMALLER LOSS OF PRE-WAR NUMBERS

ITALY • DENMARK

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ITALY

A. Introductory

From the following pages, dealing with the postwar situation of the Jews of Italy, a picture emerges which in all important respects cannot be compared with the present-day Jewish scene in other areas which were also occupied by the Nazis. Although Italian Jewry, too, suffered cruel losses through German atrocities committed on Italian soil as well as in the death camps of Poland, only a minority was deported and perished. Consequently, not a sigle Jewish community in Italy has disappeared completely and, as a rule, all major Jewish charitable and cultural institutions have resumed their activities. Reintegration into the Italian economy was comparatively smooth and thus did not pose the problem of vocational readjustment. Changes in the Constitution and in the governmental setup were far-reaching but did not affect the social and economic structure of the country, as was the case in the Iron Curtain countries. Jewish emigration, both during the period 1938-1940 (from the introduction of racial laws to Italy's declaration of war) and after the war, was limited, while, on the other hand, the number of Jewish refugees who made their permanent home on Italian soil before and after the conflagration, was not so large as to result in a dominant influence of the newcomers on the Jewish scene in Italy.

Italian Jewry lived in more than a score of communities aggregating about 45,000 Jews, the great majority of whom observed the Italian and Sephardic rites. Settled in Italy partly

since time immemorial, partly since the Spanish expulsion, they enjoyed full equality after the emergence of the united kingdom of Italy. The same situation prevailed in the areas acquired by Italy from the dissolution of the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy. The rise of Fascism did not significantly change this favorable picture for a period of more than fifteen years. Mussolini, who regarded himself as the foremost theoretician of his regime, personally rejected repeatedly Nazi racism in the most outspoken terms. After Germany and, later on, Austria fell under Nazi domination, thousands of Jews from these countries found refuge on Italian soil and were magnanimously assisted by the indigenous Jews, who created a special body for refugee relief (DELASEM, *Delegazione Assistenza Emigranti Ebrei*). It was only the decline of Italian power after the strains caused by the Abyssinian campaign and the Austrian *Anschluss* which subjected the country to ever-growing pressure of Nazism and forced it to yield to German demands for the introduction of anti-Jewish legislation.

B. The Period of Persecutions

The first anti-Jewish decrees of the Fascist regime were promulgated on September 5, 1938. They ousted Jews from all public schools, excluded them from the liberal professions, and authorized the police to prevent their participtation in certain economic activities, such as peddling. The impact of these measures, which came as a particularly heavy blow to a Jewish community so completely integrated into its milieu, caused a wave of emigration. Five thousand left between 1938 and 1940, 1,000 from Trieste alone, where obviously the feeling of insecurity was stronger than in the old parts of the kingdom. Italy's belated entrance into the war, after the collapse of France, caused additional strains for its Jewish population. In June, 1940, all Jews of foreign nationality and also a number of Italian Jews were arrested and sent to (Italian) concentration camps. (Some of the Italian Jews were subsequently released.) Excluded

from the armed forces, Jewish citizens were drafted for compulsory labor service; at the same time, Jews were denied access to public recreation facilities. It is significant, however, that in April, 1941, 6—7,000 persons, most of whom, in all probability, were Jewish, crossed the Italian border from Yugoslavia, thanks to the cooperation of members of the Italian armed forces. This humane attitude was fully in accordance with the lenient treatment of the Jews who found themselves under Italian occupation in France, Yugoslavia, and Greece. By and large, the situation remained unchanged until the fall of Mussolini in the summer of 1943 and the temporary partition of the kingdom, with the South occupied by the Allies and under the jurisdiction of Marshal Badoglio's Government, the North and the central parts, including Rome (which, unfortunately, harbored the vast majority of all the Jews in the country) held for a crucial period between 9 and 19 months by the Germans. Hitler lost no time in setting up a puppet regime, nominally headed by Mussolini whom a Nazi commando had rescued from his place of confinement in the mountains near Rome. After a brief stay in Germany, he was returned to the German zone of occupation as a virtual prisoner of the Third Reich. Now a mere tool in Nazi hands and surrounded by a gang of Italian extremists, who called themselves the government of the new Fascist Social Republic, Mussolini accompanied and sanctioned the anti-Jewish fury of the German occupant with legislative acts intended to copy completely Hitler's racial policies.

On November 1, 1943, an assembly of Roman Fascists demanded the immediate detention of all Jews. After this prelude the Fascist Party Congress in Verona got into the act and on November 17 adopted a draft of a Republican Constitution which, in Article 7, declared that "Jews are foreigners who belong to an enemy nationality." The next step was a Police Order, broadcasted by Radio Rome on November 30, which stipulated that all Jews were to be sent to concentration camps and that all Jewish property was to be requisitioned and used for the benefit of the victims of Allied air raids. Simultaneously all offspring of

mixed marriages, though hitherto recognized as Aryans by existing Italian racial laws, were to be placed under special police supervision. On January 31, 1944, Mussolini's Official Gazette published 95 "causes" for the introduction of anti-Jewish laws and announced the promulgation of "model legislation, based upon the German racial laws." Confiscation of all Jewish property was made permanent and two decrees, signed by the Duce, regulated its administration, which was entrusted to EGELI (*Ente di Gestione e di Liquidazione Immobiliare*), that was set up by Royal Decree of March 27, 1939, No. 665, to administer the estates of Jews in excess of those permitted them to own according to the provisions of Royal Decree No. 126 of February 9, 1939.

Meanwhile the Germans who had invaded Italy on September 8, 1943, sprang into action themselves. Mass arrests and deportations to Polish death camps started; camps in Fossoli di Carpi and Salsa Maggiore served as assembly centers before deportation. On October 16, 1943, 1,024 Roman Jews were arrested in one day, followed by another 1,067 within seven months. Altogether, 8,360 Italian Jews were deported, of whom 7,749 were killed in Auschwitz and Birkenau alone. Anti-Semitic outbreaks were rampant in Northern Italy and Jews were tortured in Italian jails (particularly in the notorious S. Vittorio Prison in Milan) and killed in that area. The Germans demanded and receved a ransom of 50 kilos of gold from the Jews of Rome, which was rapidly collected among the Jews of the city. Jewish community libraries and treasuries were looted and many Italian synagogues were destroyed or damaged. Over seventy of the 320 hostages, murdered by the Nazis in the Roman *Fosse Adreatine*, were Jewish.

That the Germans and their Fascist henchmen did not succeed in completely liquidating Italian Jewry, was due to the resistance of the vast majority of the Italian population against the Nazi and Fascist oppression and the spontaneous and magnanimous assistance extended to the victims of racial persecution. At the risk of imprisonment and even death, men and women

in all walks of life sheltered and fed Jews, irrespective of nationality, and aided them in escaping from the country. Ten years after liberation, on April 17, 1955, the Union of Italian Jewish Communities awarded twenty-three gold medals to men and women who had distinguished themselves in the rescue and relief of Italian Jews. (Seven medals were awarded posthumously to martyrs, executed or perished in prison.) The moving citations accompanying these awards reveal the truly popular support of these humane endeavors by all strata of the population: four Catholic priests were among those thus honored, a Presiding Judge, a General of the Carabinieri, civil servants, lawyers, artisans, and peasants. The members of the Resistance Movement, operating in the North, were especially requested by their commanding officers to use every opportunity to free Jewish prisoners at points of concentration after the Badoglio Government had broadcasted an appeal to the Italian masses still under enemy occupation to help the Jews in every possible way.

C. The Survivors

About 34,000 confessing Jews (0.08 per cent of the total population) including some 3,000 "old" refugees (who had come before the outbreak of the Second World War) lived to see the hour of liberation of all Italy. Only 47 Italian Jews returned from deportation abroad while 139 more were found in Italian camps. Conversion to Catholicism had taken a heavy toll, amounting to 2,000. (The case of Israel Zolli, a native of Galicia, who was Chief Rabbi of Rome and Head of the Rabbinical Seminary, attracted worldwide attention.) The Jewish Community of Trieste alone, where the Jews felt insecure, lost in this way 1,000 out of its 5,000 pre-war members during the period of persecution. Up to November, 1947, only forty-one persons had returned to Judaism, but the trend of returning to the Jewish fold continues.

The composition of the Community of Rome at the end of the war (October, 1945) was as follows: of about 12,500 members, 10,000 were Roman Jews, 500 came from other Italian

towns, 1,000 were "old" refugees, and another 1,000 recent arrivals from beyond the Alps.

D. Jewish Displaced Persons in Italy

These newcomers belonged to the first wave of Jewish displaced persons who made their way to Italy as a stepping stone for a later resumption of their migration to other destinations, notably to Palestine. They had started to cross the Italian border, mostly from Austria, already in May, 1945, immediately after the liberation of the northern part of the country. By August of that year their number had increased to 15,000, which included many natives of the Baltic States, Slovakia, Hungary, Rumania, and Greece, though the overwhelming majority was composed of Polish Jews (who, at the beginning of 1947, formed no less than 79 per cent of the Jewish displaced persons in Italy). Refugee camps were established by the military occupation authorities as well as by UNRRA, the latter alone sheltering 6,000 Jews already in November, 1945. In addition, training camps for prospective immigrants to Palestine (*hachsharot*) were set up, of which 16, with 2—3,000 participants, were in operation in the fall of 1945, exclusive of two special youth centers. (Only 58 Italian Jews were, at that time, in the *hachsharot*) The Jewish displaced persons in Italy organized themselves, shortly after their arrival, in an efficient way. They did much to improve conditions in the camps, which during the first period after liberation were unsatisfactory in many respects, and they instituted a network of cultural and educational activities of a high calibre. Thus they were able to hold their first conference in Rome as early as November, 1945, and intervention by the *Unione*, supported by world Jewish organizations, led to the formal recognition of their presence in Italy by the Government, which declared its readiness to issue residential permits to them, provided they were furnished with the means of livelihood and their stay was not prolonged beyond the time necessary to prepare for the resumption of their migration. At the beginning

of 1947, their number exceeded 20,000, of whom 10,000 were in seven UNRRA camps (6,000 in the North, 1,000 near Rome, 3,000 in the South), 7,500 in *Kibbutzim,* and 4,000 living outside of camps. By that time between 8,000 and 9,000 had already left the country. The number of *hachsharot* on Italian soil had risen to 65. The establishment of the State of Israel quickly emptied the Italian refugee camps. At the end of October, 1948, only 5,000 remained, and in the spring of 1951 "the Italian DP Problem was solved," as far as Jews were concerned. About 2,000 hard-core cases, however, remained permanently and are being taken care of by Italian Jewry and foreign relief organizations.

E. Revival of Communal Life

Meanwhile Italian Jewry put its house in order with remarkable speed and vigor. All Jewish Communities enjoyed official recognition from the Government, administered autonomously their affairs, and were members of the central body, the *Unione della Comunita Israelitiche Italiane* in Rome. The legal status and functions of the *Unione* had been defined by two Royal Decrees (Nos. 1731 and 1561), issued under the Fascist regime on October 30, 1930, and November 19, 1931, respectively. All the rights of the *Unione* and its 23 member Communities were now restored and they resumed their activities, first under commissioners appointed by the Government from the ranks of their members, but soon under the guidance of duly elected officers. The Italian Communities have retained their right to levy taxes on their membership, and their income has more than trebled since liberation. The Ministry of the Interior exercizes a certain control, restricted to budgetary and financial matters only, and also must ratify the elections of Community presidents. Since the war, women have been admitted to the policy-making bodies of the *Unione* and of the individual Communities. All Community officers are freely chosen in democratic elections and the *Unione* holds regular congresses attended by delegates from all affiliated Communities.

A survey, issued by the *Unione* in October, 1946, revealed that eight Communities had a membership of more than 1,000 members each (Rome: 13,000; Milan: 5,300; Turin, Bari, Florence, Trieste, Leghorn, Venice); nine Communities had an enrollment of between 200—1,000. while the rest had fewer than 200 congregants. The figures for 1955 show certain limited fluctuations: some Communitiies, including Rome and Florence, reported losses, while others, such as Milan and Turin, gained several hundred members. A characteristic feature of Jewish communal life in Italy is the so-called sections: small Jewish groups which, though officially recognized and maintaining their own houses of prayer, are affiliated with one of the larger communities. In 1955, nine such sections were listed, linked to six parent bodies; their membership ranges between 50 and 150. It should be noted that during the period of the short-lived independence of Trieste as a Free City, the local Jewish Community was formally outside the *Unione* though it continued to keep close contact with Jewish life in Italy. The communities in the areas ceded by Italy after the last war (Abbazia, Fiume) no longer exist today.

F. Religious Life in Liberated Italy

The first Jewish religious services in liberated Rome were held on June 16, 1944, only nine months, though crucial ones, after the Nazis had closed the synagogues on September 9, 1943; however, clandestine services had been held in Rome throughout this period in the Jewish Home for the Aged. All the other communities resumed public worship without delay—in several places in temporary premises. Bombings and destruction by Nazis and Fascists had caused serious damage to Italian synagogues, many of them of great antiquity and of the highest artistic and historic value. Those in Turin, Bologna, and Leghorn were totally destroyed, while those in Florence, Ferrara, and Padua needed extensive repairs. Italian Jewry turned to the Government with the request for adequate assistance in the reconstruction of its places of worship. This request was first turned down, as the

laws provided only for financial support for the repair of Catholic churches. Protracted negotiations with the competent authorities, however, resulted in a change of policy; through the "Act for the Reconstruction of Buildings of non-Catholic cult," (Decree Law of April 17, 1948, #736), the legal obstacles were removed. Most of the destroyed synagogues have since been restored or completely rebuilt. The new synagogue of Milan was dedicated in May, 1955, that of Bologna in the fall of 1954. The five ancient and beautiful temples of Venice were restored with the help of the American Joint Distribution Committee.

In 1955, a total of 41 places of worship served the needs of the Jewish community, namely, 36 synagogues and five halls of prayer (*Oratories*), of which about one-third each are devoted to the Italian, Sephardic, and Ashkenazi rites.

For some years after the war, religious life suffered from the lack of spiritual leaders. Remedy, difficult in all countries formerly under Nazi occupation, posed a still more serious problem in Italy in view of the language requirements. By and large, however, much progress has been achieved in this field, too; of the twenty-three full-fledged Italian communities in 1955, fourteen had rabbis and two a *Capo Culto;* seven remained without spiritual guidance, among them, however, only one major community (Florence).

G. Educational and Cultural Reconstruction

Italian Jewry had always devoted its best endeavors to Jewish education, and Talmud Torah institutions could be found in nearly all communities. After the introduction of the Fascist discriminatory laws, a complete educational system, comprising kindergartens, elementary and secondary schools, was rapidly built up and is today, after the interruption of the era of persecution, in full operation. The educational needs of the rising generation are at present (1955) served by twelve kindergartens with an enrollment of about 360, eight elementary schools with 1,000 pupils and 55 teachers, four secondary schools, at-

tended by 250 students taught by a staff of 85, and sixteen Talmud Torah classes with more than 600 pupils. Special mention ought to be made of the Marco Falco School in Milan which was established at the time of anti-Jewish persecution and now has 180 pupils and a staff of 60 excellent professors and teachers; it provides twenty courses covering all branches of the Italian school system. The famous Rabbinical Seminary which formerly had its seat in Florence, has now been reopened in Rome and has been placed under the supervision of the Chief Rabbi of the capital.

In addition, a network of Jewish youth circles, recreational camps, Boy Scout groups, spirt clubs, etc., has been set up, and a special periodical, *Hatikvah,* is published for juvenile readers.

Adult education is by no means neglected. Already in 1946, the *Unione* established a Department of Culture and Education, under the guidance of the noted scholar Dante Lattes, which serves as the center for manifold cultural activities all over the country. Delegates from all communities attend conferences on cultural problems, devoted to the revitalization of Jewish values. On the occasion of the High Holidays spiritual leaders of Italian Jewry broadcast appropriate addresses.

One year after the war, six weeklies were already being published, among them two in Yiddish for the benefit of the Jewish displaced persons. While the latter have now been discontinued, the Italian Jewish community with about 35,000 members is being served in 1955 by eleven periodicals, among them such noted organs as *Israel,* the scholarly *Rassegna Mensile d'Israel,* and the Bulletins of the Jewish Communities of Rome and Milan. The output of valuable Jewish books is remarkably high—there are five Jewish publishing houses—with some of the publications sent in installments to every Jewish home in the country.

Much attention has been given to the preservation of Jewish cultural treasures and historic religious objects and to the prevention of their arbitrary dispersion through acquisition by purchasers from abroad. Feelings of closest solidarity with

their brethren in Israel have, however, induced Italian Jews to donate and transfer some of their cherished possessions to the Jewish State, such as ninety ancient Torah scrolls and even the Ark and other movable parts of the old synagogues of Conegliano Veneto and Padua, the latter erected in 1548. In January, 1954, the *Unione* appointed a commission of five experts "to save the cultural, ritual, and artistic patrimony of Italian Jewry." These scholars will register all such treasures in the possession of Communities and individuals and will suggest measures aiming at the prevention of their dispersion or sale. It is encouraging to note that the priceless manuscripts of the Library of the Rome Synagogue were recovered after the war, some having been hidden in public libraries.

H. Zionism and International Affiliations

The harassing experiences of the era of persecution and the establishment of the State of Israel have made a deep impact on the souls of Italian Jews. In the now remote past, while Italian Jewry was characterized by a firm adherence to its ancestral heritage, the great majority kept for a long time aloof from Zionist activities and from other expressions of solidarity with the Jews of other lands. The emergence of Hitlerism wrought remarkable changes and, courageously challenging the restrictions imposed by the Fascist regime and its ideology, the *Unione* was among the founders of the World Jewish Congress. After liberation, the hearts of the Jews of Italy went out to the struggles and achievements of their brethren in Israel; from May 15, 1948, until the end of 1953, 1,547 of them settled in the Jewish State. Zionist activities were renewed with enthusiasm and on a far greater scale than ever before, the Jewish displaced persons in Italy having separate Zionist bodies of their own. Today all Jewish periodicals devote much space to events in the Jewish State.

It may also be mentioned that another link with Jews in other lands was formed in 1954, when the first B'nai B'rith Lodge ever to be established on Italian soil was founded in Milan.

I. Economic and Legal Rehabilitation

(a) *Comparative Easiness of Rehabilitation in Italy*—Jewish rehabilitation met with few obstacles in Italy, where an atmosphere of genuine cooperation prevailed. Difficulties arose in the period after liberation which had to be patiently overcome with Jewish assistance from abroad, but they stemmed to a large extent from the economic crisis from which Italy suffered as a result of its having been a theatre of total war, with its principal centers at the mercy of the German invaders. These difficulties were not man-made; in fact, the resilience of the Italian people from the racial propaganda of Nazism and moribund Fascism was truly astonishing. The language of reports emanating from spokesmen of Italian Jewry and observers from abroad alike is, therefore, without parallel in the postwar history of European Jewry. Already in November, 1945, they speak of "living conditions becoming gradually normal"; and in 1947, the general situation of the Jews was termed "extremely satisfactory," Jewish reintegration "proceeding smoothly" and the re-establishment of their position taking place "with astonishing speed." It was thus with understandable gratification that a prominent representative of Italian Jewry could point out already in the spring of 1951, in reply to an inquiry from abroad, that his fellow-Jews were "now able not only to pay their own way, but also to send considerable amounts . . . to Israel."

(b) *Relief and Health Services*—To be sure, the first years brought many hardships to those miraculously saved from annihilation, and without foreign assistance Italian Jews would, at that time, have been unable to care properly for the sick and the aged, for children and those temporarily without a livelihood. It was possible to reopen, without undue delay, most of the charitable institutions which, to some extent, had been a feature of all Jewish communities in Italy; the Jewish hospital in Rome, when it resumed its activities in December, 1945, was described as the "last Jewish institution to be returned." Homes for the aged, maternities, children's shelters, orphanages, and public

canteens soon served again the needs of Italian Jewry, and their number was augmented by new additions, created by the Joint, the World Jewish Congress, and other organizations. Until 1946, DELASEM, with Joint support, continued its beneficial activities for Jewish refugees. Its activities were subsequently taken over by the *Unione.*

At this writing (1955), there are in operation one hospital, three OSE ambulatoriums (the well-known Jewish sanatorium in Merano is presently closed), four homes for the aged and convalescents, eight children's shelters and orphanages, and one maternity. Charitable organizations and burial societies exist in practically all communities save two or three numerically insignificant ones. One thousand families, mostly in the old Jewish Quarter of Rome, are still on relief, and programs have been instituted aiming at their vocational re-training and ultimate re-integration into the economic life. The Joint, ORT, and OSE have, as everywhere else, made signal contributions in the field of postwar rehabilitation of Italian Jews.

(c) *Restoration of Rights.*—Both the Government and Parliament of Italy cooperated in providing the necessary legislative measures for the restoration of personal and property rights of the victims of racism. Altogether about half a hundred acts were promulgated which undid the wrongs of the Fascist era or dealt with questions arising from the persecution, such as the declaration of death of missing deportees. Some of them concern wholly, others partly, the victims of racial persecution. In August, 1943, immediately after the fall of Mussolini, the Badoglio Government abolished all anti-Jewish legislation in the territory under its control. It also released all arrested Jews, as far as they were Italian nationals. As, however, very few Jews were in the South of Italy, these measures were, by and large, of a demonstrative character only. Finally, a Royal Decree on the Restoration of Jewish Rights (No. 25) was signed on January 20, 1945, followed, later on, by a number of legislative acts which added implementary regulations or covered special

categories of reinstatements. By the end of 1946, the restoration of Jewish rights had been accomplished.

(d) *Restitution of Property.*—On the same day (January 20, 1945), another Royal Decree (No. 26) was signed, laying the legal foundation for the recovery of alienated Jewish property. In view of the attitude of the majority of the Italian people, as well as of the comparatively short period of the prevalence of the confiscatory policies of the Fascist Republic, Aryanization did not play the same important role as in other countries under Nazi occupation; consequently, hostility arising over restitution did not poison the atmosphere as it did in other European lands, even in some with old liberal traditions. In a few years the problem of restitution was solved.

(e) *Heirless Property.*—Though, fortunately, not too many Jewish families had been completely annihilated, there were compelling reasons of justice for the demand that the property of Jews who had perished without heirs as a result of racial persecution, should not escheat to the State but be used for purposes of Jewish rehabilitation through the authoritative body, the *Unione.* In this particluar case, involving the waiving of the rights of the Treasury through special legislation, protracted negotiations with the Government by the *Unione* and representatives of foreign Jewish organizations were necessary, but the leaders of the Italian Republic recognized, at a very early date, that these claims were justified. Finally, Legislative Decree No. 364 was signed on May 11, 1947. (There was a special decree in Trieste.) It stipulated that the estates of Jews who died as a result of racial persecution after September 8, 1943 (date of the German invasion) were to be transferred without compensation to the *Unione* on the basis of individual decrees by the Minister of Finances and of the Treasury, the latter being considered as valid title for changing the entry in the Register of Deeds and for the transfer of the properties in the official cadastre. The *Union* was to present these claims within two years from the ratification of the Peace Treaty or from the

declaration of the presumed death of the person whose estate was concerned, if such declaration was made after the ratification. (It should be mentioned in this connection that the *Unione* maintains a Tracing Service in Rome.)

(f) *Economic and Political Situation of the Italian Jews.*—A report of the *Unione,* issued in October, 1946, gave an instructive picture of the economic reintegration of the Italian Jews. It was pointed out that most of them were small businessmen or salesmen with many others active in the professions. There were also some civil servants and employees of banks and insurance companies and only a few industrialists and independent bankers or insurance executives. (There is a Jewish Cooperative Bank in Milan.) Few Jews were journalists, while some of them pursued a military career. Italy had only a handful of Jewish craftsmen and no Jewish agricultural workers.

According to their economic status, sixty per cent were in the low income brackets, thirty-five belonged to the middle class, 4.85 were well-to-do, and only 0.15 per cent could be considered as rich.

The re-employment of Jews posed certain difficulties until, at the end of 1951, a law was promulgated for the benefit of this category of victims of the Fascist regime, including the racial persecutees. They had to be rehired by their former employers and could not be dismissed for one year. At present the integration is complete, except for those still on relief.

Today, Jews occupy positions in the civil service and in the armed forces (including the Army Chief of Staff, General Georgio Liuzzi), while some of them are members of the Senate and the Chamber of Deputies. The emigration of Italian Jews is now negligible and a number of them have returned from abroad.

J. Anti-Semitism

It would be astonishing, if anti-Semitic manifestations had completely disappeared in a country where some people still long for the days of Mussolini. A number of dailies, periodicals, and pamphlets indulge sometimes in anti-Jewish attacks, including German-language papers in the Alto Adige (the former South Tyrol). Others are regular publishers of anti-Jewish articles which have found their way even into a children's magazine. Some members of the nobility and ultra-nationalistic circles are described as hostile toward the Jews. The Jewish Quarter of Rome was the scene of an attack by some 200 Fascists in April, 1948.

The new Penal Code, now in the process of drafting, will contain clauses defining as crimes any acts or propaganda which incite racial or religious hatred.

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DENMARK

In 1870 there were in Denmark 4,290 Jews (Sephardim and Ashkenazim) who represented the old settlers. Owing to assimilation, few marriages, intermarriages, and the small number of children, their number had decreased to 2,100 by 1931 and to 1,500 by 1945. After 1905 East European Jews immigrated to Denmark. As a result, there were in 1921 in Copenhagen (that city contained 99.2 per cent of the total Jewish population of Denmark) 2,729 indigenous Jews, 2,988 recent immigrants from Russia, and 158 other immigrants. Later, there were added some refugees from Nazi Germany. Soon the new immigrants were integrated into the life of the country and subjected to the same assimilative process as the "old" inhabitants. Significant in this respect is the percentage of mixed marriages: among the old inhabitants the percentage was 48.2 at the turn of the century, and about 60 in 1945; among the newcomers it was 2.1 in 1921 and almost 23 per cent in 1945.

Although the Germans invaded Denmark in April, 1940, they did not take stringent action against the Jews at once because they wanted to maintain good relations with the Danes. In September, 1943, however, an order was given to deport the Danish Jews. With the help of the Danish people all but 450 Jews succeeded in escaping to Sweden; the deportees were sent to Theresienstadt and treated as "privileged" inmates. Almost all of these returned to Denmark after the war. In Sweden the Jews were supported by means of a loan granted by Sweden to Denmark, which was later cancelled.

There are no official statistics available, not even on the number of Jews in Denmark. It is estimated that the Jewish population is between seven and eight thousand; 99 per cent of them live in Copenhagen. It was only in Sweden that a true idea of the number of Jews and Jewish children was obtained, because all the refugee children attended the same schools and were regarded as belonging to the Jewish sector; the Aryan Danes were all adults. Further on we shall return to the children and their distribution.

All of the Jews who fled to Sweden came back. The return was planned and executed by the Danish Government in the best manner. But it may be safely said that there was a certain displeasure among the general population at the return of the Jews. The thought that the Jews were not so bound up with the country and could or would remain where they were, had been ever present. That was partly the reason why many Danes had appropriated the Jewish property entrusted to them and were disappointed when the legal owners came back. Protracted litigation was necessary to recover the fictitiously disposed-of factories, workshops, or stores. But there were also many who had watched over the property of their Jewish neighbor or friend with such sacred zeal as to arouse admiration. The Government, on its part, did everything to alleviate the situation. It granted aid, paid compensation for any damage suffered, and provided a roof over the heads of those who could not regain their dwellings. And as always happens in Denmark, everything was set in order again. Despite the differences in origin, there is on the whole a friendly relationship between the various sectors of the community. Most of the leaders are assimilated Jews, but the President of the Community is also the President of the Magbit (fund-raising agency for Israel).

One of the reasons why everything soon ended well was the tremendous shortage of labor. But it would be exaggerating to say that the Danish Jews had by their departure left a void in the country's industrial apparatus. As everywhere else in the Diaspora, they did not occupy such essential positions in the

economy as to make them indispensable. Both the old residents and the newcomers belong for the most part to the middle class. We will cite a few figures. The figures are for the year 1949 and cover those who paid taxes to the Jewish Community, that is, gainfully employed persons. To be sure, there was also a small number of Jews who were not affiliated with the Community, but this would hardly affect the picture.

Following is the occupational distribution of the Jews of Denmark:

Occupation	*Number*
1. Wholesalers	288
2. Wage workers	196
3. Self-employed artisans	158
4. Salaried employees	119
5. Traveling salesmen	47
6. Lawyers	35
7. Physicians	28
8. Engineers	27
9. Officials	21
10. Dentists	7
11. Architects	6
12. Others	91
Total	1,023

The table calls for an explanation. First of all, in the six years since 1949, there has been an addition of several physicians, lawyers, dentists, etc. But it can be said with absolute certainty that the economic structure of Danish Jewry has not thereby changed in the least. Perhaps the wage-earning element has grown a shade smaller because the material lot of the Jews has been good and it has been possible to have the children educated for intellectual occupations.

Now, what does the table tell us? Let us take item 1: Wholesalers. This category includes also managing directors and a couple of small bankers. The overwhelming majority, however, are wholesalers. The designations are arbitrary. Under this heading come not only merchants, but small and medium-sized manufacturers; however, they are all on the same economic level. This category comprises both recent and old elements. The majority of the managing directors belong to the old-established families. But they are seldom found in large concerns. There was a time when such concerns were in Jewish hands; but as a result of intermarriage they have passed into the hands of non-Jewish heirs. Some still retain their old firm names.

Category 3 ("self-employed artisans") consists entirely of East European Jews who have pursued their trade (mostly tailoring) and prospered. This group ranges from very small workshops to larger ones, or even to small factories.

Category 12 ("others") includes a couple of musicians, some three journalists, and several decorators, retailers, etc, most of them of East European origin. Category 2("wage workers") consists almost entirely of East European Jews. Nor are all of them exclusively wage earners, the majority being small or larger artisans who employ labor.

As may be seen, the economic basis of the Jews is not a firm one, the economic conditions being described as not "too easy." Four-fifths of them are employed in industries which are the first to be hit by a depression. And the fifth part, which does engage in manual work, is also employed in these light industries. (Incidentally, this element is steadily diminishing.) Besides, the Jew generally finds it difficult to obtain a job in time of depression, as we know only too well from the years before the war. In general, very few Danish Jews are really wealthy, but none is really poor.

Let us glance at the demographic situation.

Following is the distribution of children of school age (5—15 years):

Children of old-established families	60
Children of East European immigrants who arrived at the beginning of the century	288
Children of mixed marriages among old-established and recent East European immigrant families	371
Children of recent German Jewish immigrants (Hitler refugees)	60
Total	779

After the return from Sweden, the situation became, so to speak, normal again. The Caroline School, the only Jewish day school in Denmark (recognized and subsidized by the State), which this year celebrated its 150th anniversary, is attended by 220 children, 20 of them of mixed parentage. (In case of a civil marriage, the law requires the couple to state to what religion the children born of the union are to belong if husband and wife belong to different religions and do not want to recounce them.) If husband and wife opt for the Jewish religion, the children may attend the Jewish School. The religious school (a supplementary institution) has an enrollment of 160. Of this number, one half are from the Jewish School and the other half from the public schools. In other words, three hundred children receive some Jewish instruction. Some 15 children of mixed parentage attend the public schools. Thus, subtracting the half-Jews, it follows that over a hundred purely Jewish children receive no Jewish instruction whatever. This would not be so bad. The trouble is, however, that the 6,000—7,000 Jews have not more than 400 children of school age if we leave out the half-Jews. Thus, considering the minus of the half-Jews

and the excess of deaths over births (thus far, only 10 to 40 a year, but which is steadily making inroads because the East European Jews, who came to the country in the opening years of the century, were nearly all of the same age) one can calculate mathematically when Jewish life will cease to exist in Copenhagen and there will remain only a Jewish cemetery, as is the case in many other cities of Denmark. Those cemeteries are cared for by the Jewish Community of Copenhagen. The last one, the Jewish Cemetery of Copenhagen, will no doubt be cared for by the State, with the Danes' sense of piety and as a historic memorial to the Jewish element which the course of history had once brought to their shores, which had infused fresh and precious blood into their nation, but which, despite its tenacity, eventually had to go under because such is the fate of small minorities.

Nevertheless, we must beware of writing off Danish Jewry. One now senses a certain uneasiness in the community over this state of affairs. And it is precisely among the young, both the children of the new immigrants and those of the old-established families, that this is noticeable. The older generation of assimilated Jews is shocked by this unrest, which is assuming ever more distinct forms, with demands for a more Jewish education at the school and a stronger Jewish cultural life. Part of this youth is also ready to fight to have the teaching of Yiddish at the school continued in an intensified form. (In the last 25 years, children of parents who wanted it have received two hours of instruction in Yiddish a week.) It is hard to say what will come of it. A large part of the Danish Jews who are affiliated with the Jewish Community are but weakly attached to it. They will strongly react against the new tendencies. They are an important element materially. They are also held in esteem by the outside world. These facts will have to be reckoned with in the forthcoming struggle. This will weaken the striking power of the challengers who in the "Assembly of Delegates" (a kind

of Jewish Parliament) could already muster a majority for a more clear-cut national line.

There are two Jewish periodicals in Denmark: one, a monthly, published by the Community and the other by the Zionist Federation.

The Great Synagogue in Copenhagen with a seating capacity of 1,000 persons is half empty on Saturdays but filled to overflowing on Rosh Hashanah and Yom Kippur.

The community maintains two large and two small old-age homes with a total of about 100 inmates.

There are also a number of other Jewish organizations in Copenhagen. One is the association of Jewish artisans with about 350 members; its main functions are of a social nature, but it also participates in cultural affairs. Another organization is the choral society esablished in 1912, and an amateur theatrical group.

Much has been heard in the Jewish world about the ban on Shechita in Denmark in September, 1953 and about the repeal of the ban a year later. It will be of interest to the Jewish public abroad to hear a more intimate account of the matter.

Strictly speaking, the question had always been, though latently, before the public. There had been no lack of "humanitarians" who championed the cause of the animals to be slaughtered for meat. The matter was particularly delicate because Shechita had long since been prohibited in Sweden and Norway, where the animals must be stunned before being slaughtered. Nevertheless, the ban came like a bolt from the blue. It is customary in Denmark that in every question at issue one first takes up the matter with the interested party, listens to its views, and gives it a chance to champion its cause. Yet in this case, involving a tenet of a recognized religion, the authorities did not consult anyone but issued a decree, and that was that. This procedure deeply offended every Jew in the country.

Furthermore, the President of the Jewish Community and the Chief Rabbi who went to intercede with the Ministry of Justice, came back utterly humiliated. Twice the President of the Community, who weighs every word most carefully, stressed in his report to the Assembly of Delegates that "we were given a positively unfriendly reception!" These highest representatives of Danish Jewry, both members of distinguished families—the rabbi is a brilliant orator who through his radio and personal appearances is known throughout the country—had certainly never dreamt that some petty bureaucrat would take the liberty of receiving them uncivilly. It hurt that such a thing could happen in Denmark. Further interventions, with a statement by a world-famous Danish physiologist on a previous occasion, and another by a present professor—also a Dane—attesting to the humaneness of the Jewish religious mode of slaughtering animals for food, fell upon deaf ears. The question arose whether it would not be advisable to test the ban in the courts. The lawyers who were consulted said that the case would be lost. It may be assumed, however, that it was not the juridical aspect which was decisive but the fear that a lawsuit might antagonize public opinion. The spectre of anti-Semitism haunted the Jewish leaders.

But, as always happens in Denmark, the matter ended satisfactorily. That government, which consisted of members of the Peasant and Conservative Parties, was succeeded by one composed of Social Democrats. One could reason with them. The ban was temporarily suspended. And when a casting-pen was imported from England, the ban was abolished for good. Naturally, this happy consummation did not come about so easily. The full cabinet had several meetings on this question before it was finally decided. In this connection, people mention with deep gratitude the name of the prematurely deceased Prime Minister, Hans Hedetoft, whose attitude to Jewish questions and to Jewry was always one of deep sincerity and good will.

The victory for Shechita was clinched with the help of—hogs. Stunning had already begun to be employed in their slaughter.

As is well known, pork is Denmark's biggest export article. Well, complaints began to come in that the pork was not free of blood, that it spoiled quickly, that people did not want to buy it. It goes without saying that the method of stunning was discontinued at once.

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POSTSCRIPT

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When the war ended, there was, despite the frightful extent of the Nazi and Fascist slaughter of European Jewry and the memory of the survivors' own sufferings, a strong desire among many of the latter to rebuild their lives not only as individuals and members of families but also as organized national groups, and to assist in the reconstruction of the nations among whom they had dwelled so long. In fact, it did not take long before those who had been deported or had fled or lived in hiding began returning to their shattered homes with the firm intention to build a new future. Not infrequently, however, the reception given them by the majority of the population was anything but friendly. In the East, where the ingrained anti-Semitism fully survived the horrors of the Nazi anti-Jewish persecution, the Jewish survivors were often met with hostility which in certain countries often culminated in serious bodily assaults. In the West, where the population became Jew-conscious through the Nazi persecution, the problem of Jewish property, which had passed into the hands of the non-Jews, represented a serious stumbling block to a return to "normalcy."

As a result of the delicate Jewish position in the East, the mood soon changed. The political situation there, where Communist influence grew from day to day, contributed signally to the change. The Jews who just began to integrate themselves into the life of their respective countries were faced with a new challenge, politically, economically, spiritually, and organizationally. The attractive power of Palestine, strong as it was, became much stronger through these new developments, and, later, through the struggle for the country's independence and

the establishment of the State of Israel. In consequence of these negative and positive influences, a large part of the survivors and returnees (particularly Polish Jews from the Soviet Union) began to leave their countries, first in small and then in growing numbers. At first they went to Allied-occupied Germany, Austria, and Italy. Later they left these temporary abodes or went directly from their homes to Israel, to other overseas countries, and to some West European countries. Many a community in the East (Bulgaria, Czechoslovakia, Poland) which, though considerably reduced in numbers, was still viable, became reduced, through emigration, to a veritably insignificant group. Whatever remained there and in the other countries (Rumania, Hungary), became cut off from the general stream of Jewish life and from their brethren in Europe. There was also emigration, though on a smaller scale, from practically all other countries. Thus, European Jewry was once again, within the span of a few years, reduced by hundreds of thousands. Worse yet, it was split into two parts with practically no contact between them. The "Iron Curtain" which had descended upon Russian Jewry after the end of the First World War, and which had contributed so signally to the weakening of European Jewry at that time, now shut off the largest traditional Jewries still in existence. The significance of the exodus and split for the postwar development is obvious and requires no further explanation.

An analysis of the articles on the 16 countries contained in this volume leads to the following general conclusions. First, the postwar development was far from uniform in the various countries. There is a small group of countries where postwar life is not much different from that before the catastrophe. To this group belong the Jewish communities of Denmark and Italy; they suffered comparatively few losses in life and the dislocations that took place during persecution were overcome in a comparatively short time. France is in a class by herself: it is the only country which harbors today almost as many Jews as it did before 1940, but about one-third of the Jews have changed: this pre-war part of the Jewish population was annihilated by

the Nazis and replaced by newcomers. There is no need to explain that, as a result of this change and the experience during the war and occupation, French Jewry is today different from what it was before, although old patterns of integration into the French mode of life and economy are becoming more and more evident. In Holland, Belgium, Luxembourg, and (partly) Norway the majority of the Jewish population was annihilated, and the losses have not been filled to any appreciable degree. Despite the good general climate, democratic society, and equal opportunities for the Jews, there is no comparison between the pre-war and the postwar situation: these are orphaned communities struggling hard to maintain their heritage and identity, handicapped by the harrowing experience of the past and by small numbers. In Germany and Austria very small remnants of once large and flourishing Jewish communities are struggling for their lives. In both countries the few and overage original Jews have been joined by some immigrants from the East but their numbers are probably insufficient to play the role of invigorators, let alone bearers of a new future. In all the countries behind the Iron Curtain the same pattern is evident: the survivors, as said, were greatly reduced by emigration, while the steam-roller of the Communist regime has, for all practical purposes, brought an end to organizational, cultural, religious, and institutional Jewish life. Whatever still remains of it, is passing through a period of inertia, regimentation, and adaptation to the system of a monolithic state. In Greece and Yugoslavia, the communities have been reduced by annihilation and emigration to such an extent that only insignificant numbers remain, with few prospects for the future.

The Nazis and Fascists succeeded not only in annihilating the vast majority of European Jewry, but also in sapping its national roots far beyond the numerical decline. The foremost victims were children and young people. As a consequence, practically a whole generation was lost: children survived for the most part only if they succeeded in finding a hiding place, and this involved small numbers only. The Nazis also put at the

top of their annihilation program the Jewish leaders and intellectuals. Consequently, in the whole of Europe there is today a dearth of Jewish intellectual and organizational leardership. The acute lack of spiritual leaders and teachers makes it impossible to educate the small number of youth in Jewishness and to instill in them a consciousness of and attachment to Judaism. There is also little creative Jewish work owing to the disappearance of the bearers of this work, either by death or emigration. The two great forces in Jewish life of Europe before 1933—the traditional Jewry of Eastern Europe and the progressive Jewry of Central Europe—are no more. These developments, coupled with the smallness of the communities, lead practically everywhere in the West to a rising tide of assimilation, which cannot be expected to be stemmed by new arrivals, rich in Jewish cultural and religious traditions, because these elements, as said, were annihilated and whatever survived of them was separated from the rest of Europe by the Iron Curtain.

The picture is somewhat brighter in the economic field. Despite extensive spoliation and slow and only partial recovery of spoliated assets, the Jews have by and large succeeded, in the countries this side of the Iron Curtain, in reintegrating themselves into the economy of their respective countries. The widespread economic sufferings and hardships after the war have by now been generally overcome. About 30,000 Jews are still listed on Jewish relief rolls on this side of the Iron Curtain, but compared with the total Jewish population, and the situation ten years ago, this is not an excessive percentage, particularly if we bear in mind that a considerable part of these Jews are recent immigrants from the East. The picture is different in the East: restitution did not amount to much there from the very start; in addition, under the Communist system property lost its value anyhow. Vocational readjustment meets, particularly in Rumania and Hungary, with serious difficulties and poverty among the Jews is still rampant.

To round out the picture, it must be noted that the reduction in numbers could not but seriously affect the role of the Jews

in their countries of residence. Nowhere (with the possible exception of France, Italy, and Denmark) do they play, whether in the economy, politics, or culture, a role even approximating that of the pre-war days. The reduced rate of Jewish creativeness and initiative affects the whole of the country no less than the Jewish community itself.

Some of the problems with which the Jewish communities were faced immediately or soon after the end of the war have since been solved. There is no longer any problem of restoration of "legal rights," or of Jewish displaced persons or refugees, or of the legal status of missing persons, or of repatriation or resettlement. These were not exclusively Jewish problems, although the Jewish stakes were high, and the normalization of the general life contributed to their solution as it did to the problems of the devastation by war acts and occupation, the general displacement of population, and the disruption of law and order through the Nazi and Fascist onslaught. However, the basic problem, one that is purely Jewish—the question of national survival—is far from having been solved.

Since 1954 a new factor in the rehabilitation of the Jewish communities this side of the Iron Curtain has emerged: the funds provided by the Conference on Jewish Material Claims Against Germany, amounting to millions of dollars a year.

Ten years is not a sufficiently long period after the upheaval of a world war, the unprecedented slaughter of millions of Jews, and the division of Europe and the world into two camps, to prognosticate on the *quo vadis* of European Jewry. The present situation is not too promising. However, with certain positive forces at work, in some of the countries at least, we need not necessarily despair of the future.

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